NOVEMBER 17, 1980

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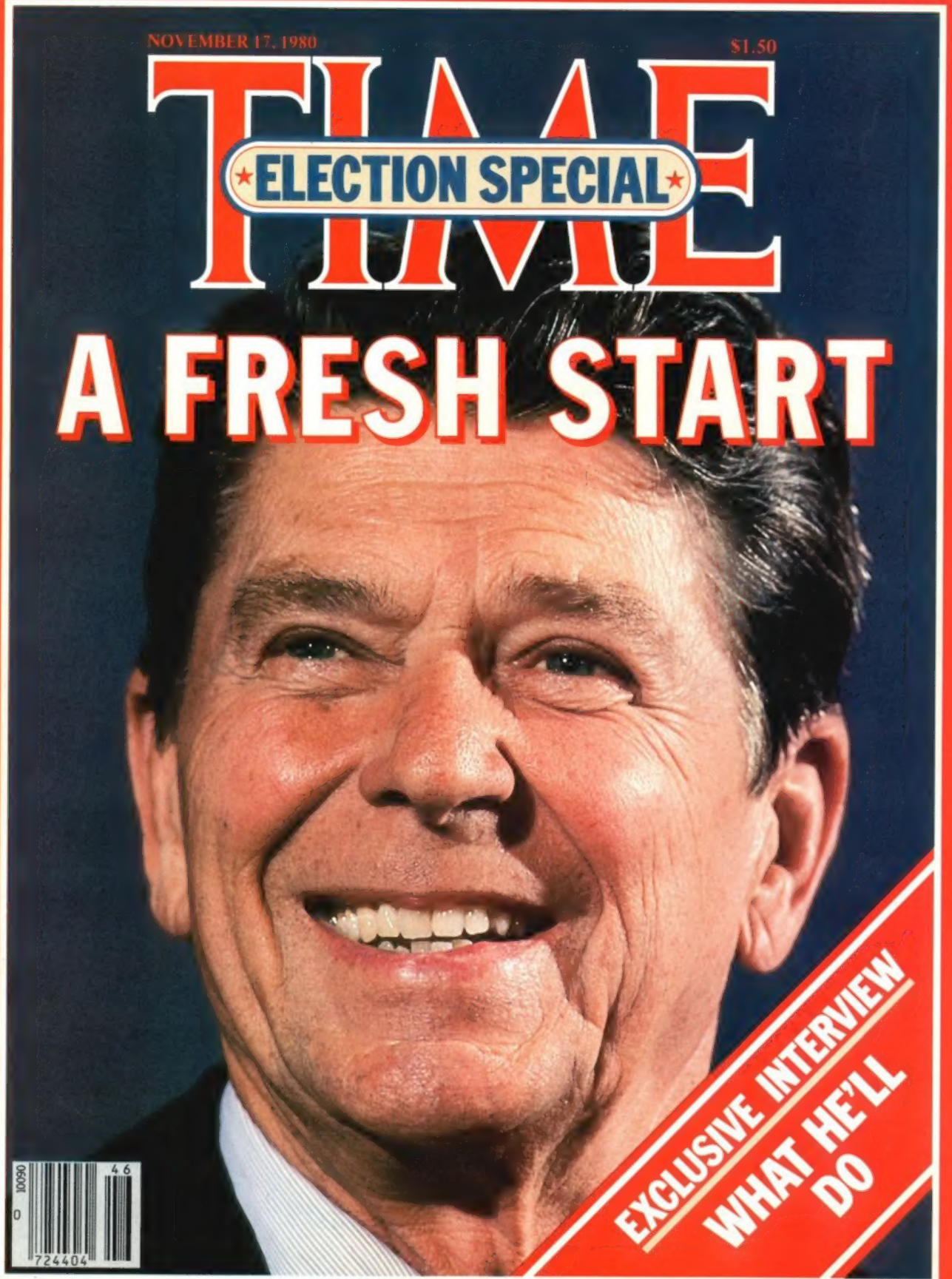
TIME

ELECTION SPECIAL

A FRESH START



EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

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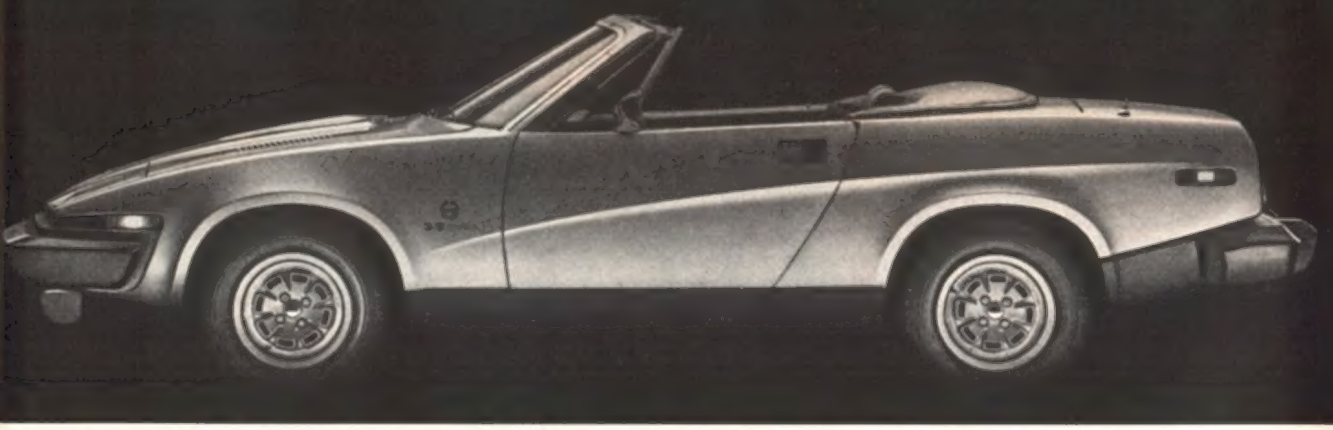
TRIUMPH TR8

"NOTHING LESS THAN THE REINVENTION OF THE SPORTS CAR."

CAR AND DRIVER, AUGUST 1980



"JRT...has produced an automobile that the doom-and-gloom bunch has been telling us we can't have anymore—a car that's fun to drive, a car that's fast and nimble."
MOTOR TREND, JUNE 1980

"Just when it seemed as though we would never again see another mass-produced, lusty-hearted convertible sports car, here comes the Triumph TR8."
ROAD & TRACK, JUNE 1980

"The TR8 reminds us of what a sports car should be: a 2-seat open-to-the-air exercise in vehicle performance."
MOTOR TREND, JUNE 1980

"The TR8 is about the only automobile of its kind you can get without having to mortgage the family farm."
MOTOR TREND, JUNE 1980

"It feels and sounds like a small-block V-8 should: sensuous. And it is real competition for the 225-horsepower 350 cubic-inch L82 Corvette."
SPORTS CAR GRAPHIC, JUNE/JULY 1980

"The TR8 accelerates quickly through the gears and will smoke the tires off the line when asked."
MOTOR TREND, JUNE 1980

"In a time when most cars are dull, the TR8 is pure automotive enjoyment."
SPORTS CAR GRAPHIC, JUNE/JULY 1980

"Best new sports car of 1980."
ROAD TEST, JULY 1980

"...this car probably represents the best sports car buy today."
SPORTS CAR GRAPHIC, JUNE/JULY 1980

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NOVEMBER 17, 1980 Vol. 116 No. 20 TIME THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

On Aug. 2, 1978, Illinois Congressman Philip Crane stepped before a bank of microphones and television cameras in Washington and became the first candidate to declare his hopes in the 1980 presidential election. From Crane's opening hurrah down to the final tumultuous hours, TIME has followed the candidates mile by mile through the longest and most arduous campaign in recent history. As always, the goal was to produce clear, perceptive and colorful coverage, an effort that culminates with this week's special election issue.

This edition went to press three days earlier than usual, meeting deadlines unparalleled in TIME history, and includes the magazine's first election coverage in color. To produce the issue, which has a total of 28 pages devoted to the campaign's climax, TIME assembled a special Election Night editorial force consisting of the regular Nation staff reinforced by editors, writers, reporter-researchers, artists, picture editors, copyreaders and other specialists from throughout the magazine. In addition, extra TV sets, video recorders and A.P. wire machines were installed at the magazine's New York offices.

In the field, TIME correspondents accompanied each of the major candidates as they cast ballots in their home states and settled in to watch the election returns on TV. Washington Bureau Chief Robert Ajemian, Congressional Correspondent Neil MacNeil and National Political Correspondent John Stacks joined the editors in New York to help analyze voting patterns, while bureaus across the country tracked the balloting in key states and important local contests. More than 30 photographers were assigned to cover the candidates and to capture America in the process of selecting a President. Chartered jets were used to fly their film to New York to meet the issue's timetable.

On election morning, as the candidates and millions of other Americans were voting, their fellow citizens at TIME made their own choices, then reported to the Time-Life Building for a long night's journey into day. By late Wednesday, TIME's most colorful and comprehensive election issue was ready to roll off the presses.

John A. Meyers

Election issue editors, writers and reporter-researchers gathered in the Nation section

Bureau Chief Ajemian

Cave (right) choosing covers with Hoglund, Ramp and McManus

Davis and Lelièvre tracking copy flow

Operations' Hahn, Demeter and Aitkin

Photographer Evans following Reagan

Deputy Art Director Holmes with chart

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Stacks in Washington

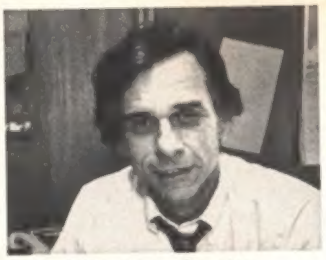
Chris Ogden with President Carter

Laurence Barrett with Reagan

Correspondent MacNeil

Duncan with Boeth and Doerner

Associate Editor Frank Merrick



Senior Editor James Atwater

Drapkin with Considine and Kellner

Correspondent McGeary

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That Winning Smile
Now all the world's a stage for Ronald Reagan, the onetime actor whose smashing presidential victory surprises even his fans by its size. He draws support from women, Jews, Democrats and just about every bloc and state he wasn't supposed to win. His easy manner and moves toward the middle reassure voters, but the man is, after all, committed to changing the course of U.S. Government. Will he?

26
The Presidency
TIME Columnist Hugh Sidey ponders the ingredients of presidential leadership, and whether Reagan has them.

27
America Decides
The long trail that began with the Iowa caucuses was finally over. A color album of the 1980 presidential election.

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Analyzing the Vote
The debate helps, the hostage factor does not hurt, and the experts are wrong: all kinds of folks like Reagan.

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In an interview with TIME, the President-elect tells how he hopes to change fundamentally the Government's direction.

38
George Bush
He has strong prospects of succeeding to the Oval Office, but for now Bush is content to play second fiddle.

41
The New Team
The President-elect hopes to make the big decisions. A look at who might handle the day-to-day operations for him.

44
The Democrats
Carter's defeat may give his party a chance to regroup by recovering its discipline and philosophical coherence.

52
John Anderson
He was once favored by nearly 25% of the voters. Then began his decline. Might it have been different for Anderson?

55
The Senate
A well-funded conservative drive helps retire some liberal incumbents, and a Democratic majority fades.

61
The House
The Democrats lose their whip and much more in the Reagan sweep, but keep the edge in a more conservative chamber.

65
The Governors
The G.O.P. moves into a few Democratic mansions, but there is no change in most of the 13 up for grabs.

73
The Referendums
Voters decide on tax limits, nuclear power, public smoking and dozens of other questions tacked onto local ballots.

74
World
The militants agree to hand over the hostages to the Iranian government. ▶ The families' ordeal. ▶ Smoothing the way for release.

80
Business
Computer wizardry is starting to increase output at the office. ▶ A glut of European steel. ▶ Admen are turning wags to riches.

88
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Almost everybody is losing to almost everybody else in pro football's most evenly matched, and confusing, topsy-turvy season in years.

90
Religion
Despite smashed temples, shattered images and 50,000 martyred monks, Buddhism struggles on in Communist Southeast Asia.

106
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New viruses imperil birds and dogs. ▶ The camel owes his desert durability partly to his nose. ▶ Why reindeer get ulcers.

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Cover: Photograph by Evans—Gamma/Liaison.

Letters

Explosive Clash

To the Editors:

"Will the Gulf Explode?" The answer is no. As hot as the situation may be around the Persian Gulf [Oct. 27], it is not going to explode because there is still a good amount of wisdom in the land of the eagle and the land of the bear.

Dia E. Chatty
Los Angeles

Your cover showed the American bald eagle and the Russian bear, eyes glistening, watching the time bomb over the Persian Gulf. Is this the symbol of our current foreign policy—furnishing arms, along with the Soviets, and waiting to pick the bones of the victims?

Edwin P. Peterson
Ukiah, Calif.

When will the U.S. realize that it must get out of the Persian Gulf before it is dragged into a war to protect its energy interests? Now is the time to stop the demand for Middle East oil.

R. Daniel Laesch
Chicago

A good case can be made for the proposition that Iran is a candidate for the kind of Yalta-type partitioning that Soviet and American statesmen engineered in Europe in 1945. Such a partitioning would secure the oil of Khuzestan for our European and Japanese allies and, by restoring Azerbaijan to Soviet hegemony, would give them a buffer insulating the people of Turkistan from the virus of Muslim self-determination.

Such an arrangement would disabuse the perception of the small powers that when it comes to their vital interests, the superpowers are muscle-bound giants.

Holman Jenkins
Swarthmore, Pa.

Before the war in the gulf began, my blood used to boil at the very mention of Ayatullah Khomeini. But today I cannot help sympathizing with the poor devil. His spectacular crusade captured the world's imagination, and it is a sorry spectacle to see such an industrious personality faltering before his adversary and heading toward inevitable disaster.

Rajesh Joshi
Bombay

Your article could be the outline of a political soap opera. What is Assad's real motive in his friendship with Gaddafi? Can Saddam Hussein pull enough strings to promote his own desires for power? What is the true relationship between King Hussein and the P.L.O.? Was there any hanky-panky at the last office party between Brezhnev and Assad?

Tune in next week.

Barbara Coyne
Rock Island, Ill.

Adultery in the Heart

Pope John Paul's statement that lust for one's wife could be adultery in one's heart [Oct. 27] aroused hostility and opposition because it pricked the consciences of those who view sex not as a sacred union, but rather as mutual masturbation and a means to voyeuristic gratification.

Haven Bradford Gow
Arlington Heights, Ill.

"Thou shalt not covet thy wife" does have the ring of a rather strange Eleventh Commandment. But I felt sure the Pope was not that stupid. He isn't. The full text of his talk is a magnificent treatise on the dignity of the human person. No woman, says the Pope, should be viewed only as a sex object. Not even your wife.

(The Rev.) Larry N. Lorenzoni
San Francisco

Brainpower

Governor Hunt of North Carolina deserves praise for establishing a school for the gifted [Oct. 27]. We share his concern for what our public school system is doing (or not doing) to these young people. I am convinced we've blown the discovery of a cure for cancer at least three times in the past 15 years because we turned off too many minds.

Nita Malbasa
Mayfield, Ky.

The North Carolina Governor is to be encouraged for recognizing that equality of educational opportunity does not mean the same type of education with the same price tag for every student. Cream will rise to the top, but if not properly used, it is the first to spoil.

Chris Lortz
Davenport, Iowa

Women at the Wheel

Your article "Vroom, Baby!" [Oct. 27] points up the fact that ladies have enormous influence in the auto marketplace. I believe that women are more concerned about gas mileage than men are, and for that reason most of us drive small cars.

Irma Almaguer
Half Moon Bay, Calif.

How sweet. Detroit has decided that a woman might be intelligent. If she is and has tolerated years of condescending advertising, quite possibly she would no longer want to touch a Detroit car.

Eleanor Avery
Northridge, Calif.

The first premise of any successful business, large or small, is to know the market. Maybe that explains why I'm buying my second foreign car.

Dot Johnson
Melbourne, Fla.

Space Race

Re your article "Red Stars over the Cosmos" [Oct. 27] about the Soviet space experiments: even the impetus of Soviet competition no longer stirs us from our stagnant state, as it did in the days of Apollo. Our reluctance to support new civilian space research programs may indicate not only disgusting complacency but, worse, creeping national suicide.

John Barnes
Littleton, Colo.

If the Soviet Union is going all out in its space effort, I'm sure it's because he who rules space rules the world. It looks as though only the Soviets realize this.

Don Dondero
Reno

Scrap Those Sex Stereotypes

I will probably buy Letty Cottin Pogrebin's *Growing Up Free: Raising Your Child in the 80's* [Oct. 27]. But your picture of the Pogrebins may have savaged the book's credibility, since it shows the liberated family with Mr. Pogrebin standing behind them in the classic patriarchal position.

Maureen Maher-Neel
San Francisco

For both parents to be fully informed about each other's specialties, as Pogrebin requires, is time-wasting overkill, not equality. My husband can and does change our son's diapers as well as I, but expecting him to keep track of the day the diaper service comes and whether the bill has been paid this month is as silly as asking if I can put my hands on the Venezuela project file in his office.

Ellen Eshbach Nordby
Chicago

Evolutionists *vs.* Creationists

Scientific creationists owe Carl Sagan [Oct. 20] a note of thanks. His statement that "evolution is not a theory, it is a fact"

"It looks like a Tia Maria night."

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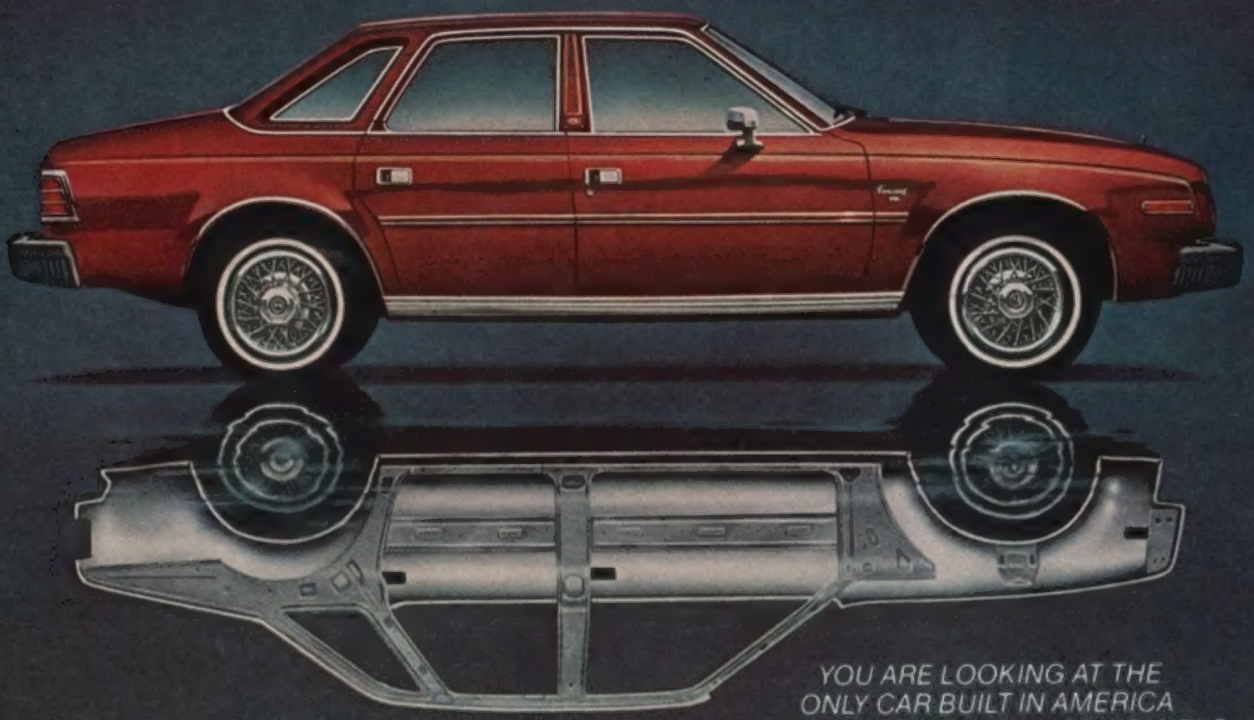

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Letters

will do much to swell the ranks of the numerous scientists who have already left the fold of evolutionists because of just such arrogance.

Hilbert R. Siegler
Bangor, Wis.

Unfortunately, the religious fundamentalists who still believe that God created man some 6,000 years ago will not tune in to Sagan's excellent *Cosmos* series; they do not want to be confused with facts.

Robert D. Lindskog
Irvine, Calif.

Good Citizens?

Re the case of Feodor Fedorenko [Oct. 27], the Ukrainian-born immigrant now accused of being a Nazi criminal: I cannot comprehend why the Justice Department is seeking the revocation of his citizenship when more than 78,000 Cubans have immigrated to America and we have become responsible for their welfare.

Fedorenko has been a good citizen. At 73, after working here for 31 years, he now seeks only a peaceful life.

Wasyll Gina
New Haven

The issue is not that Fedorenko and Wolodymir Osidach, another Ukrainian immigrant accused of war crimes, have been good citizens since they arrived in the U.S. The facts are that they lied or accidentally forgot to mention their past "profession," and that is a very important "material fact."

Patricia Braun
Ridgecrest, Calif.

The Electronic Pacifier

Unlike Sociologist Paul Hirsch, I am not convinced that a plausible defense can be made for excessive TV viewing [Oct. 20]. Television is a piece of technology that has not served society well. It stifles creativity, limits imagination and dulls character. In short, TV acts like an electronic pacifier.

Jeffrey M. Boss
Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

Hirsch's harebrained study should be dumped into the garbage. As a high school English teacher, I can testify that in education alone, the moron tube is so poisonous and hypnotic that the disease of illiteracy is rampant.

Robert G. Arthur
Kings Park, N.Y.

News Management

Indonesia's Mochtar Lubis hit the nail right on the head when he questioned the Third World demand for a so-called free and balanced flow of information [Oct. 6]. The Third World attempt at news management represents little more than a self-serving exercise in journalism designed for the self-perpetuation of some authoritarian regime.

National development is not supposed to be a juggernaut demanding the sacrifice of freedom of speech and justice. What developing countries cannot afford is not the luxury of a critical press, but the white elephant of an inept or corrupt government. Only a critical press can keep the government on its toes or put misguided national development back on the right track.

Huang Chang-cheng
Taipei, Taiwan

After receiving my issue of TIME and finding the Essay entitled "The Global First Amendment War" almost completely censored with thick, black ink, I must agree with one of the few lines I was able to read: "Their [developing countries'] governments are, and have long been, in firm control."

Jill Tucker
Bogor, Indonesia

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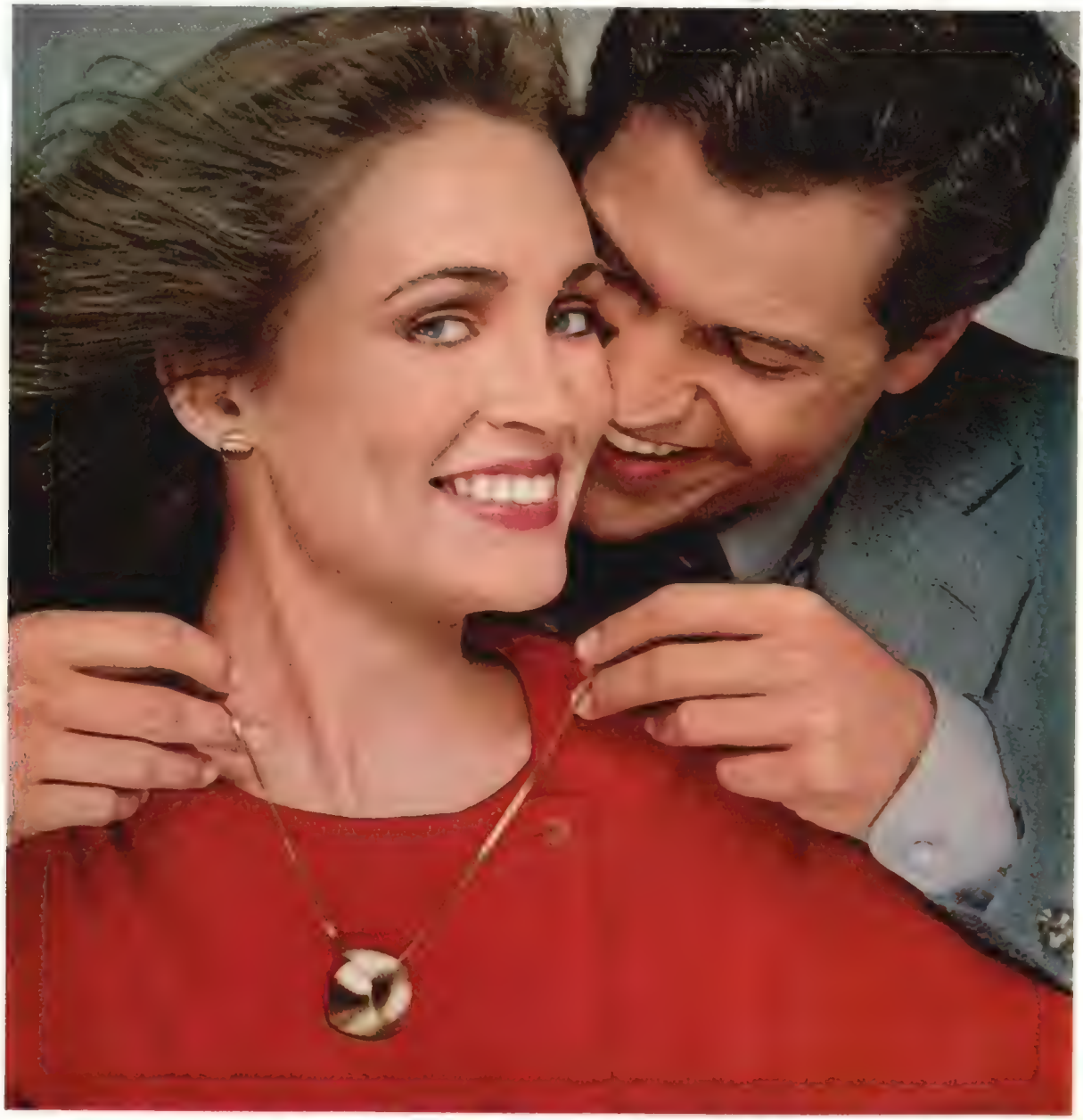

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THOMAS S. ENGLAND

State Procurement Officer Tom Roller presiding over a king's ransom in ex-federal hardware

American Scene

In Iowa: A Wizard of Odds and Ends

Tom Roller's warehouse is a monument to bureaucratic bumbling. A stroll through it stirs up visions of shattered, best-forgotten programs for the public good, and the rise and fall of federal agencies. Of course Roller doesn't see it that way. He prefers to think of his 12,000-sq.-ft. warehouse on the Iowa state fairground in Des Moines as the U.S. Government's very own garage sale.

Roller operates the warehouse for the surplus property division of Iowa's department of general services for the benefit of some 1,500 public agencies in Iowa. A beneficent act of Congress requires that federal excess property be offered to state and local agencies, virtually free of charge, before it is put on public auction. That means before all those cigar-chomping characters who excel at turning a profit from reselling Government castoffs can lay hands on it.

At first glance the warehouse, with its mounds of gas-mask bags, ponchos, entrenching tools, field jackets, might be confused with some kind of Army-Navy store. Over the past few years Roller has acquired enough military surplus to equip the national guard of a modest-size Central American dictatorship. G.I. helmets and uniforms, for instance, are much in demand as props for high school drama departments.

Almost routinely, Roller has become arms dealer for the "Cedar Rapids Air Force." He has snagged four UH-1B helicopters for medical evacuation use by the city. Two fly; the others are being cannibalized for spare parts. List price for these helicopters: about $250,000 each. They cost Cedar Rapids only $10,000, for repair and refitting. In addition, Roller has provided 17 two-seater Hughes TH-55 helicopters, some without engines, others near wrecks. Four operable craft have risen, phoenix-like, from the wrecks of the 17.

But, Roller says, "when you think of Army surplus, you think of only a fraction of what the Federal Government generates." Roaming his domain, Roller glows as he handles a 400-ft. roll of computer paper. "These are neat," he says. "Schools can use them for drawing paper."

There are rows and rows of red and orange desk calendars, nameplate holders, In and Out boxes. "Somebody in the Government thought they'd brighten up offices with these things," explains Roller. "Now we are brightening up county clerks' offices in Iowa." County clerks are abandoning their 1917 Remingtons for the reconditioned electric typewriters that line the shelves of the warehouse. Roller regularly sends a truck to Washington, D.C., where "quite serviceable typewriters" can be obtained for Iowa agencies at between $50 and $75 (list cost when new: $200 and up).

Modern Government does not run on military and office equipment alone. Through the warehouse come potter's

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American Scene

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Part of the warehouse looks like a display at a machine-tool convention. Enormous lathes, tool grinders and milling machines stand side by side. Some are rejects, for reasons only a machinist—or a bureaucrat—could appreciate. Many come from "the Cave," an 80-acre underground federal storage facility near Atchison, Kans., where machine tools that would be needed to turn out artillery in the event of war are stockpiled.

To screen the federal discards, Roller and his counterparts in other states make the rounds of places like the Cave, known in bureaucratese as "generating points." To keep the states from squabbling over the spoils like so many relatives over an inheritance, Washington gives each state a yearly "entitlement" (Iowa's is $3.2 million), against which a few "reportable" items (meaning sizable or obviously useful things like cars and bulldozers) are charged at the original cost of the item to the Federal Government. "Nonreportable" items (meaning junk like printed circuit boards) are free. Well, almost. The states must pay for the item's transport, storage and handling.

Bizarre items spill out of Roller's warehouse. Some are shrouded with yellow tarps. Others reflect the sun. All give the impression of a sprawling museum of found art: barely used pizza ovens from an abandoned Army base, food service carts, compressors, Jeep engines packed for shipment, crates filled with 560 brand-new D-handle shovels, cargo trailers, a hay baler, a 400-amp. welder unit, manhole covers from missile silos, even a U.S. Navy recruiting truck decorated in Day-Glo colors, relic of a failed attempt to entice counterculture youths to "Go Navy."

"It's sometimes hard to tell the junk from what will move," says Roller, "but all you need is a little imagination to turn junk into hot items." He runs his operation like a small businessman. In search of hot items, he scans stacks of computer print-outs of Government inventories. It was there that Roller found one of his recent coups, 135 fancy uniforms for the White House guards commissioned in 1970 by President Richard M. Nixon and heavily reminiscent of Sigmund Romberg musicals. This fall 33 of the gold-braided tunics and black vinyl hats are proudly stepping out with the marching band of the Meriden Cleghorn high school.

Many of Roller's acquisitions never pass through the warehouse at all. Those two herds of dairy cattle, totaling 65 head, that went straight to the School of Veterinary Medicine of Iowa State University

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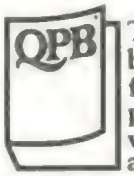

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at Ames. The first herd, 27 black-and-white Holsteins, arrived from an Environmental Protection Agency project in Nevada with a special bonus not mentioned in the computer print-out: twelve of the cows were going to calve.

Roller has learned that one cannot always judge a hunk of Government property by its computer print-out. What was listed by the Air Force as four air conditioners in scrap condition turned out to be four burned-out air conditioners used for cooling Strategic Air Command bombers on the runway. But the useless air conditioners happened to be bolted to four mint-condition International Harvester one-ton trucks, each with fewer than 3,000 miles on the odometer.

Roller's *pièce de résistance* is a 227-ft.-long, 85-ft.-wide paddle-wheel riverboat, the *William M. Black*. The boat, with two 800-h.p. steam engines, 25-ft. paddle-wheels, and 68-ft.-tall smokestacks (hinged for going under bridges), cost the U.S. Government $680,000 when it was built in 1934. It was named after a chief of the Army Corps of Engineers, and for 40 years the corps used it to dredge the Missouri River. Now the boat is worth at least $5 million. Roller waged an intense bureaucratic battle to win the *William Black* for the Dubuque County Historical Society to use as a museum. Even after the *Black* had been awarded to a town in Missouri, he persisted. "It was a splendid fight," Roller recalls, beaming like a schoolboy who has just won the debating prize. "I loved every minute of it."

"Basically," Roller says, "I recycle tax money, and that benefits us all." At 32, he is clearly wild about his job. He is also flexible, inventive, full of good humor and patience: a most unbureaucratic bureaucrat. The incongruities of federal purchasing policies are not lost on Roller, but he declines to talk critically about the waste and madness he sees. Says he with a grin: "You don't throw golden eggs at the goose that lays them."

Roller's knack for hatching those golden eggs is becoming widely known. The Iowa department of public safety called recently to find out if he might possibly have some item in the warehouse that could serve as an autopsy table. No problem. Roller just happened to have the genuine item in stock. "But I knew that I had really arrived," he adds, "when the National Guard called asking for a Jeep. I mean, those are the guys who are supposed to have the Jeeps in the first place."

Some items are a lot more difficult to get from the Feds than others. "Everybody wants a road grader," explains Roller. "Hospitals are always looking for emergency generators, so they are hard to come by too." But sooner or later, he contends, the Federal Government will spit out everything that has ever been made. Everything? "Sure," says Roller easily. "I once saw a nuclear reactor offered in a listing." —*By Barry Hillenbrand*

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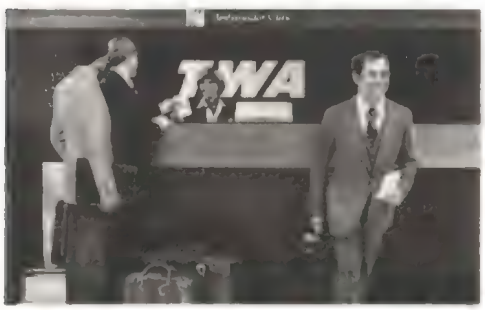

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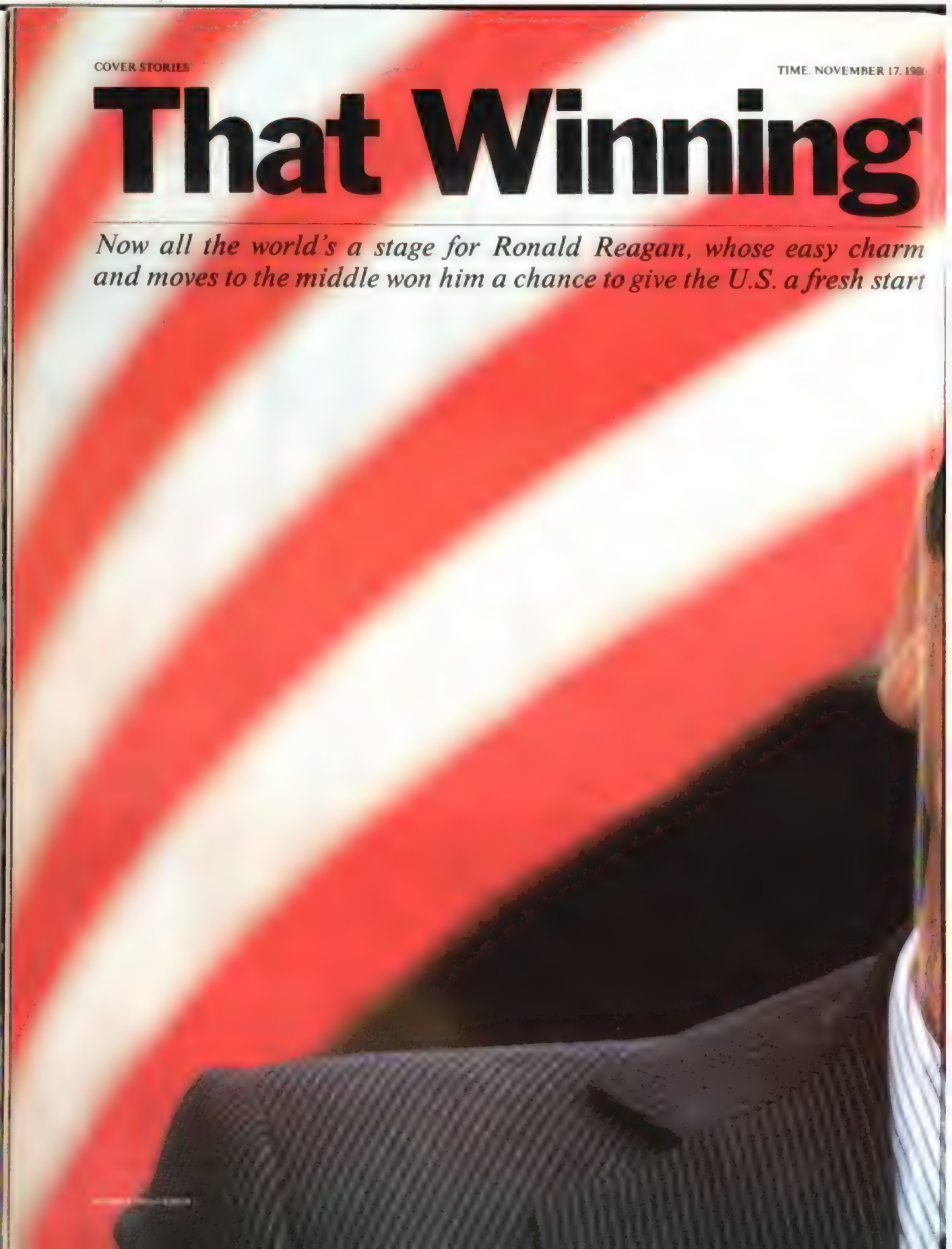
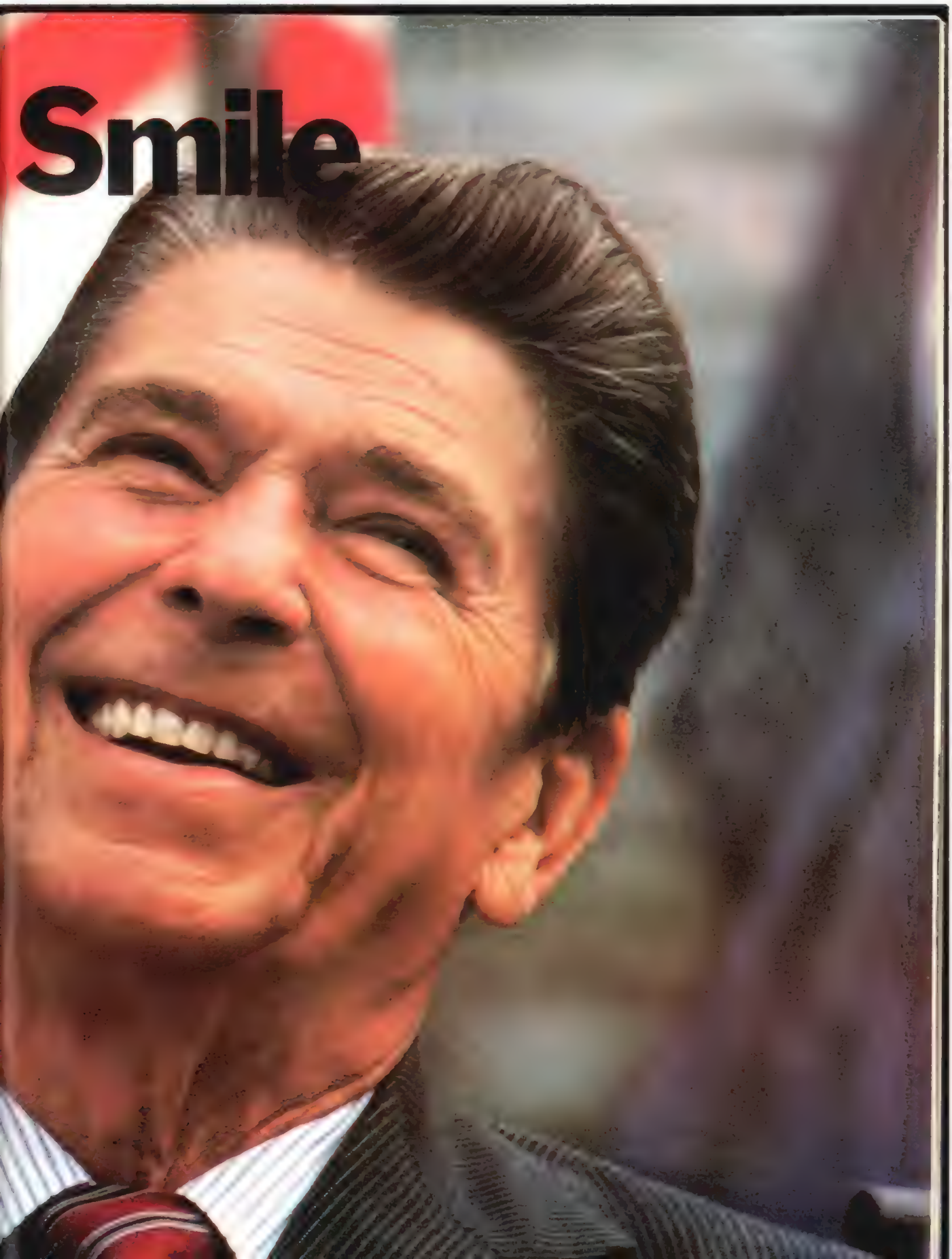
That Winning

Now all the world's a stage for Ronald Reagan, whose easy charm and moves to the middle won him a chance to give the U.S. a fresh start




Smile

Victory: the Reagans after confirming the good news

Defeat: the Carters after the concession speech

Nation

Reagan Coast-to-Coast

And he sweeps a host of new Republican faces into office with him

Landslide. Yes, landslide—stunning, startling, astounding, beyond the wildest dreams and nightmares of the contending camps, beyond the furthest ken of the armies of pollsters, pundits and political professionals. After all the thousands of miles, the millions of words and dollars, the campaign that in newspapers across the land on the very morning of Election Day was still headlined TOO CLOSE TO CALL turned out to be a landslide. The American voter had struck again. Half the election-watching parties in the nation were over before the guests arrived. The ponderous apparatus of the television networks' Election Night coverage had scarcely got on the air before it was over. NBC called the winner at 8:15 p.m. E.S.T., and the loser conceded while Americans were still standing in line at polling booths in much of the country. In a savage repudiation of a sitting President not seen since F.D.R. swept away Herbert Hoover in the midst of the Great Depression, Americans chose Ronald Wilson Reagan, at 69 the oldest man ever to be elected President, to replace Jimmy Carter in the White House.

It was shortly after midnight when the hamlet of Dixville Notch, N.H., became the first community in the nation to cast its ballots and set a trend that never varied: 17 to 3 for the challenger. Once the big count began, all the shibboleths of the election—that Americans were confused, apathetic and wished a plague on all the candidates and, above all, that they were closely divided—were swept away by a rising tide of votes, some hopeful, many angry, that carried Reagan to victory in one of the most astonishing political and personal triumphs in the nation's history.

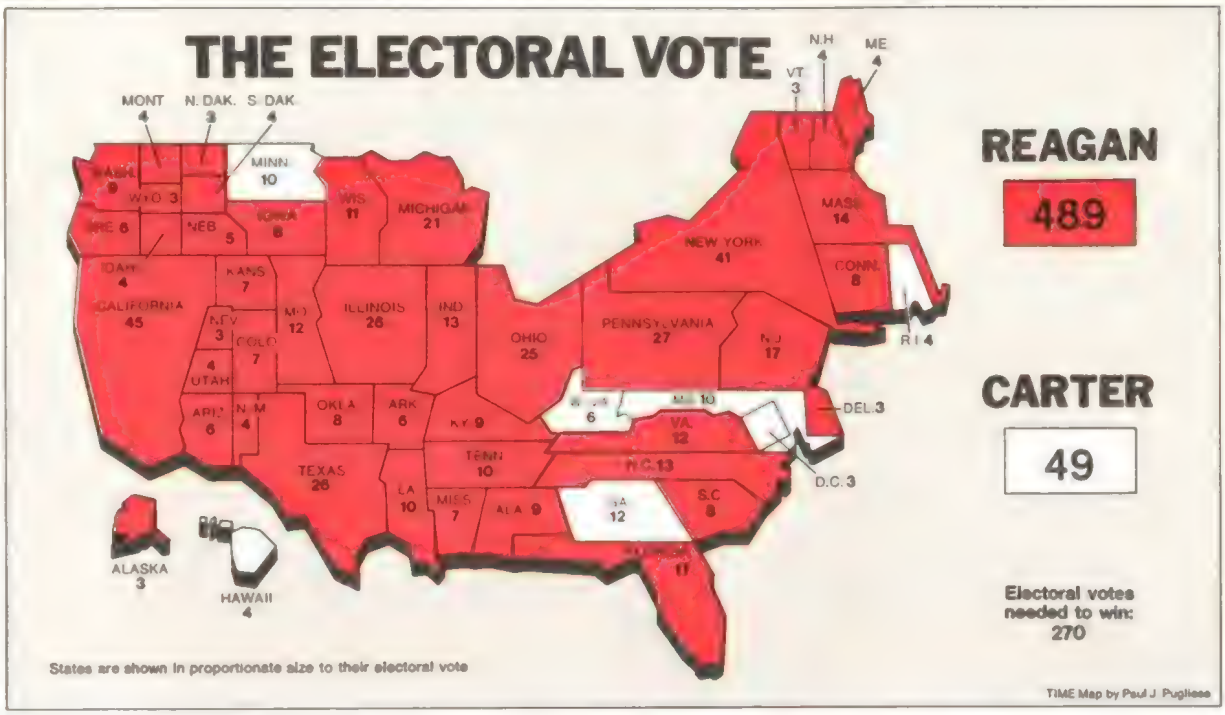
Even before the counting began, reporters' interviews with voters leaving the polls made clear that a remarkable Reagan victory was gathering force. That force quickly proved tidal. Some of the first returns came from states that Carter had to win to have any hope at all, and they made it mercilessly clear that the White House would no longer be his. On the tide rolled, through Carter's native South, into the nation's industrial heartland, on to the West, until, reluctantly at the end, even New York fell to the Republicans.

As the tallies piled up, they buried nearly every comfortable assumption that the pundits had made about how Americans would cast their ballots. Among them:

▸ The growing promise that the American hostages in Iran would be returned—the closest thing to the "October surprise" that the Reagan camp had long dreaded—apparently helped Carter not a bit, and may have cost him dearly.

▸ Independent Candidate John Anderson did not elect Ronald Reagan by significantly weakening Carter; indeed he had no effect on the election outcome as a whole.

▸ The huge number of voters who had told pollsters that they were undecided evidently broke decidedly for Reagan, thus confounding the conventional wisdom that disaffected Democrats in the end would "come home" to their party.



▸ Women, who had been thought particularly susceptible to Carter's charge that Reagan might lead the U.S. into war, did not vote Democratic in anything like the numbers expected.

When it was over, Reagan had won a projected 51% of the popular vote and an overwhelming 44 states, with the staggering total of 489 electoral votes. Carter took 41% of the popular ballot and a mere six states, with 49 electoral votes (Georgia, Hawaii, Maryland, Minnesota, Rhode Island, West Virginia, as well as the District of Columbia).

Moreover, Reagan carried Republicans to victory—or perhaps Carter dragged Democrats to defeat—around the country. The Republicans took control of the Senate for the first time in 26 years and made substantial gains in the House, creating more conservative chambers for the Reagan Administration and knocking out of office some key Democratic stalwarts. The voters who cast their ballots for a President-elect who has pledged to reverse the tone and direction that have prevailed in Washington for almost half a century also retired such noted liberal Democratic Senators as Birch Bayh in Indiana, George McGovern in South Dakota, Frank Church in Idaho and John Culver in Iowa. Even Washington's Warren Magnuson, a fixture in the Senate since 1944 and No. 1 in seniority among all 100 Senators, went down to defeat. In the House, powerful Ways and Means Chairman Al Ullman got the ax, as did Indiana's John Brademas, the majority whip.

Reagan's triumph dismembered the old Democratic coalition. Jews, labor-union members, ethnic whites, big-city voters —all gave Reagan far more votes than they usually cast for a Republican. The disaster left the Democratic Party, which has held the presidency for 32 of the 48 years since 1932, badly in need of a new vision and a new agenda.

Though the dimensions of the landslide were totally unexpected, both camps knew from their polling in the final days that the momentum was swinging to the challenger. The debate completed the process of certifying Reagan in the public mind as an acceptable President, and the hostage news seemed to remind voters of all their frustrations with the state of the country and Carter's performance as President.

On election eve, calling on all his skill in the medium he uses best, Reagan delivered a superbly moving half-hour TV speech. He called a roll of patriotic heroes from John Wayne to the three astronauts killed in a launch-pad accident, asked the voters "Are you happier today than when Mr. Carter became President?" and said, in relation to the U.S. role in the world, "at last the sleeping giant stirs and is filled with resolve—a resolve that we will win together our struggle for world peace." It was the kind of speech hardly another living politician would have been able to bring off, but Reagan did—magnificently —and not least because it was evident it is what he profoundly believes about America and its rightful world role.

Trying to recover, Carter put in a brutal final week—26 cities in 15 states and more than 15,000 miles in the air. In the last 24 hours before the election, Carter stepped up his blitz in a desperate cross-country chase that took him 6,645 miles to six key states ("I need you, I need you, help us!" he implored the crowds) before touching down in Georgia's dawn fog on Tuesday morning so that he could vote in Plains. His throat was raspy. His right hand was scratched red from ceaseless, frantic "pressing the flesh" with the throngs that met him. He had put on pancake makeup to cover the red blotches on his face, but the signs of weariness showed through. He had scarcely slept since the latest hostage maneuvering broke early Sunday morning.

After voting with Rosalynn, Carter drove over to the railroad depot, the initial headquarters for his 1976 campaign, to greet an attentive crowd of 100 residents and 200 reporters. Suddenly, for the first time in public, he started to betray what he knew—that he was going to lose. While his aides dug their shoes into the red clay and stared at the ground, Carter gave a rambling talk for ten minutes about the accomplishments of his Administration. "I've tried to honor your commitment," he said at the end. "In the process, I've tried . . . " His voice broke, and tears welled up in his eyes. Rosalynn looked on in agony. Carter recovered his composure and ended quickly, "to honor my commitment to you. Don't forget to vote, everybody."

When the Carter party flew back to the White House, aides began working up the President's concession speech even before the first announcements were made. "I want to go out in style," Carter told his advisers. "I want this country to know it's going to have an orderly transition."

Later, Carter sat with his top aides in the family quarters on the second floor of the White House and watched the news of his defeat. "I lost it myself," he said. "I lost the debate too, and that hurt badly." He was composed, not vindictive, a man trying to analyze why the nation was rejecting him so emphat-

ically. "I'm not bitter," he said. "Rosalynn is, but I'm not." Rosalynn agreed: "I'm bitter enough for all of us."

To make his concession speech, Carter appeared before his dispirited followers at 9:45 p.m., an hour and a quarter before the polls closed on the West Coast. By admitting defeat, Carter may well have discouraged Democrats from going to the polls and supporting other party members on the ticket; the timing of his speech was a small reminder of how little he had cared about party affairs and loyalties.

Reagan was in bounding good humor throughout the final days, buoyed by reports from his pollster, Richard Wirthlin, that he was steadily gaining. On Monday he played Peoria, Ill., and played it well, his voice getting richer and stronger throughout the day. At a campaign-closing rally in a shopping mall near San Diego, a few hecklers kept screaming "ERA!" Reagan stopped in mid-sentence and snapped, "Aw, shut up!" The crowd erupted with cheers of "Rea-gan!" The candidate cocked his head, grinned and said: "My mother always told me that I should never say that. But this is the last night of a long campaign, and I thought just once I could say it." It was Reagan at his avuncular best.

On Election Day, Reagan voted in the morning and refused to make any predictions. "President Dewey told me to just play it cool," he said. At 12:15 p.m., Wirthlin called with good news about the early returns. Reagan's response was to cross the fingers of one hand above his head and rap on wood with the other hand. At 5:35 p.m., he was stepping out of the shower, wrapped in a towel, when the phone rang; Jimmy Carter was calling to congratulate him.

Independent Candidate John Anderson

The third man kept asking, "What's to spoil?"

At the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, Reagan mingled with old California backers and show-biz friends such as Jimmy Stewart and Charlton Heston, and got a surprising phone call from Ted Kennedy, offering his cooperation.

When Reagan finally went downstairs to make his victory speech to wildly cheering supporters, he struck the same mixed tone of humility and boyish glee that so obviously had charmed American voters during the campaign. Said he: "I consider that trust you have placed in me sacred, and I give you my sacred oath that I will do my utmost to justify your faith." That was the sober side; the other showed a few moments later when supporters brought him a cake shaped like the country, lush with flags marking the states he had carried. As the bearers held it up, the cake started to slip. Said Reagan with his widest grin: "When that began to slide, I thought that maybe the world was going out as I was getting in."

Reagan could certainly be pardoned for feeling that life begins at 69. His rise has been one of the most remarkable success stories in American politics, and he has come a long, long way. Entering political life only after his show-business career was washed up, he had his first run for elective office at 55, an age when many once successful men are thinking of early retirement. Despite eight effective years as Governor of California, he was twice denied his party's nomination for President.

Indeed, to achieve his triumph, Reagan had to break most of the unwritten rules about White House eligibility. At the start of the year, he was widely considered too old, and his background as a movie actor too frivolous, for the Oval Office. Above all, he was thought too conservative. Even last spring, as Reagan was sweeping aside a crowd of rivals in one Republican primary after another, Gerald Ford was grumbling that "a very conservative Republican [he did not have to say whom he meant] cannot be elected."

Reagan did moderate his tone and rhetoric as it became clear that he had a serious chance of winning. He spent endless hours countering the main charge of Carter's campaign: he was a warmonger. He constantly reassured voters that he would not dismantle Social Security, end unemployment compensation. Quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt as though he were a kind of patron saint, bizarre as that seemed, Reagan adopted the old Democratic pledge to create jobs and "put this country back to work."

Reagan never backed away from his basic principles or essential message: abroad, the source of most trouble in the world is the Communist drive for global domination; at home, the fount of most American woes is the overblown, endlessly intrusive Federal Government. In foreign affairs, the U.S. must build up its military power and face down the Soviets. At home, Reagan's watchword will be less: less federal spending, less taxation, less regulation, less federal activism in directing the economy and curing social ills—in fact, less Government, period.

But though the conservative trend of the country was obvious from the results, Reagan's mandate was a good deal less than indicated by his 489 electoral votes or by Wall Street's thunderous vote of approval the next day (79 million shares traded, the second busiest day in the New York Stock Exchange's history, and a jump of nearly 16 points in the Dow-Jones average). His victory was surely not so much an endorsement of his philosophy as an overwhelming rejection of Jimmy Carter, a President who could not convince the nation that he had mastered his job. Overseas, he could never seem to chart a consistent policy to deal with the rise of Soviet power and hold the allegiance of U.S. allies. But that failure was far overshadowed in the election by the roaring inflation that Carter's numerous switches in economic policy could never stop or even slow, and the rising unemployment that he seemed to accept as the price of an ineffective anti-inflation program.

Reagan scored heavily with his repeated question of whether voters felt they were better off than they had been four years earlier. Said Republican Governor James Thompson of Illinois: "A lot of people, the so-called silent majority, went into the voting booths and said, 'To hell with it, I'm not going to reward four years of failure.' " One telling incident: in the mill town of Homestead, Pa., half a dozen steelworkers cheered Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397, as he told a reporter that he was voting for Reagan. Said Weisen: "Carter ignored us for 3½ years, and now he comes around asking for our votes. Well, he's not getting them." Nearby was a carton of Carter posters that the workers had never bothered to unpack. Weisen sneered: "We'll turn them over and use them as place mats at our next beer bash."

Read one way, the election illustrates nothing so vividly as the perils of being President. The voters have just turned an incumbent out of office for the second election in a row for the first time since 1888, and ended one party's control of the Government after only four years for the first time since 1896. In a time of trouble at home and abroad, the President has become the lightning rod for all the discontents of the citizenry.

But for Ronald Reagan, that is a problem to face come Jan. 20. After four years of Jimmy Carter, Americans clearly yearned for someone who would do things differently or at the very least would provide more leadership. Evidently Reagan convinced them that he held out that promise. Now he has his chance to prove it. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and Christopher Ogden with Carter*

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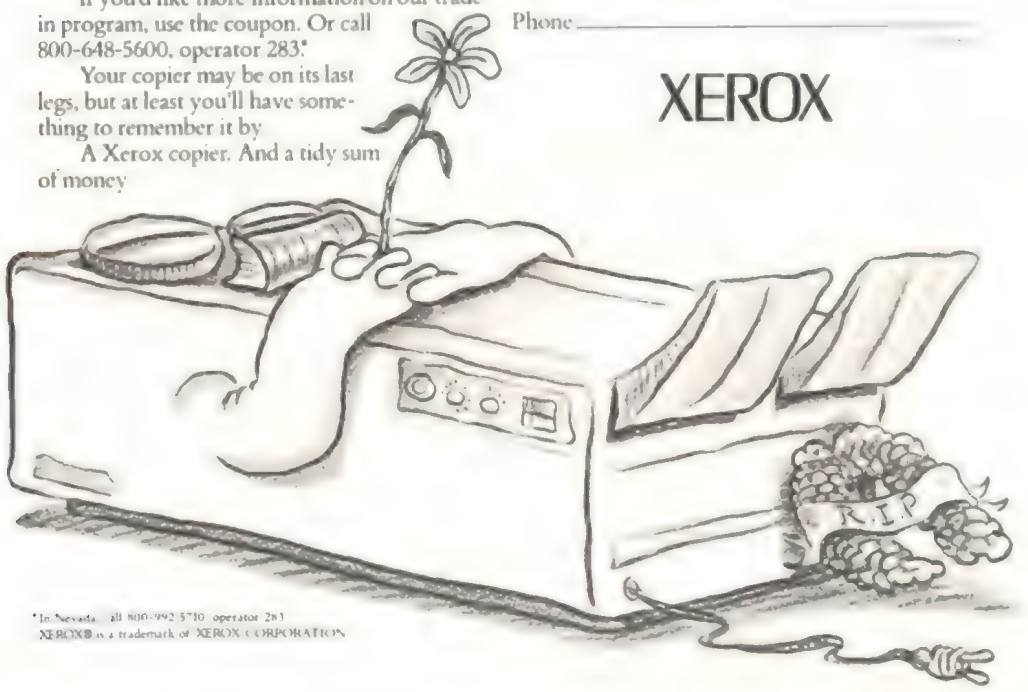

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The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

We Are Off on a Special Adventure

A few days before the election, Cartoonist Garry Trudeau extracted from his vivid imagination a huge cross section of Ronald Reagan's brain, in which he placed the intrepid television reporter Roland Hedley Jr. With microphone and camera, Hedley Jr. searched for behavioral patterns in the cortex and the cerebellum with its maze of neurons and their dendritic spines.

Some editors detected a certain prejudice against Reagan, and they threw the cartoon out or put it on the editorial page. Trudeau was guilty as charged, a practitioner of marvelous bias and political deviltry. But any serious student of why Presidents say what they say and do what they do knows that Trudeau, who comes from a family of physicians, had his observer in the right place pondering the ingredients of leadership.

Our system, of course, is designed with its web of checks and balances, and open scrutiny that can halt a good deal of presidential caprice and anger, and prevent excess and foolishness. Yet, in our time, the need for quick, authoritative action is so important that we have piled up more power in the Oval Office than those who designed the system ever imagined. That power is unleashed by the sequence of events inside the very individualistic mind of the President —any President. So it will be with Ronald Reagan.

Many wonder if we poke and prod too much at Presidents, speculating on their moods, their IQs, grasp of history, courage and honor. That may be so, but the search is not likely to cease. Too much rides on the man's conclusions for it to be otherwise. Yet at the same time we must recognize the discomforting fact that the analysis of presidential intelligence and wisdom remains a difficult and error-ridden public sport.

Franklin Roosevelt was hardly envisioned as the midwife to social revolution nor was Harry Truman suspected of being the resolute student of history he turned out to be. Lyndon Johnson, the most brilliant legislator we have ever had in the White House, flopped when he tried to apply the techniques of compromise to a war. Jimmy Carter, who collected more facts than his predecessors about the problems that came to him, could not put them together in a way that gave direction to his presidency.

What all this proves is that we can make a pretty good judgment about the individual qualities of a man before he gets to the White House, but we cannot confidently predict how these characteristics will finally interact within the presidential context.

On a Friday night in April 1961, John Kennedy gathered a handful of his close advisers in the Cabinet Room and pondered what to do about the Soviets' space challenge. Only two days before, Yuri Gagarin had become the first man to go into orbit. Kennedy was 43 then and seemed 30, a man of little scientific knowledge who listened to his technicians describe a ten-year, $40 billion race with no guarantee that America would get to the moon first. Like a boy, Kennedy put his foot on the edge of the Cabinet table, fiddled with a loose rubber sole on his shoe, ran his hands through his hair, ended the meeting with his jaw set. Fifteen minutes later he sent the word out: "We are going to the moon."

This was not a military imperative. There was no overwhelming clamor from the public or Congress for such an effort. Something special happened in the mind of Kennedy. The poet in him glimpsed the future, perhaps, or the Irish combativeness responded to the prospects of a race. What we do know is that John Kennedy decided finally in those few minutes to take the nation on a peaceful and creative journey the likes of which this world had never known.

After a lifetime of fighting Communists, none more odious in his eyes than the Red Chinese, Richard Nixon saw something and heard something in China that few other statesmen detected. The outcast nation was getting ready to ask for entry into the modern world. The precise chemical change in Nixon remains something of a mystery, even to him. On his trip around the world in July 1969, he dropped hints like confetti that he was ready to talk. While most of the rest of the world was slow to detect the vast potential for change in geopolitics, Nixon got the scent. That singular mind of Nixon's, which in its Watergate convulsions would cause our system so much grief, seized on the China opening with ferocity, producing one of the most dramatic diplomatic maneuvers of the century.

We have pondered all of these years Jerry Ford's impulse that led to the pardon of Richard Nixon. It came after a Wednesday afternoon press conference in which he received several questions about the legal status of the resigned President, and then walked back to his office where a newspaper headline on the same subject confronted him. The pardon freed the Government from its Nixon obsession, though it may have cost Ford the presidency. Ford's years in military matters on the Hill, his observations of world crisis and his athlete's instincts for action from his boyhood led him, by his own testimony, to turn to his commanders on Wednesday May 14, 1975, and say "Go ahead," thus launching the *Mayaguez* rescue operation.

The journey that Ronald Reagan has taken from his prairie hamlet of Dixon, Ill., to the White House, via Hollywood and the Governor's mansion in Sacramento, is an astonishing American pilgrimage. Reagan is not brilliant in any sense, but his mind had to be practical and persistent in a special way to bring him this distance. Those instincts nurtured in simpler times and places seem to have served him well so far. Football, swimming, campus politics, sportscasting and acting are the strata in his evolution. He mimicked real life until he became Governor of California, and then he amazed many people by performing credibly.

But no test of his skills has been like the one he now faces. Not even Reagan fully understands how far his new world is from those old haunts where every talent a healthy person had could be developed and opportunity was as wide as the horizon. There is no way now to fix Reagan up with new genius or to rearrange his convictions. The interaction of the events of this world with the mind of this genial progeny of the heartland will affect us all. As with other Presidents, we are off on a special adventure for which there is no travel guide and no reassuring precedent.

AMERICA DECIDES

The Republican presidential nominee launched his drive for the White House, as tradition decreed, over the Labor Day weekend. In shirtsleeves, with the Statue of Liberty shimmering behind him in the heat of New York harbor, he spoke at a New Jersey rally; an unseen member of the audience was destiny.

The campaign, of course, was already middle-aged by then, and it still had more than two months to run. But finally, the hundreds of days dwindled down to a precious one. As the shadow of night retreated westward across the continent, Americans awoke on Tuesday to an unfamiliar sound: silence. The speeches had all been made, the plans and programs all recited. Hoarse and bone-weary, candidates for office at every level hauled themselves out of bed; principals in the long drama, they now could merely join the audience for the final act of voting.

The day brought millions of repetitions of a paradox: marking a ballot is an intensely private act of enormous public consequence. And scarcely had the electorate sat down to watch itself on TV when it learned what it had done. An incumbent President was resoundingly defeated; the voters had given Ronald Reagan a place in history. The rippling effects of Nov. 4 will be felt for years, yet it all stemmed from choices made in a voting booth, that unique envelope of solitude. This peaceable allocation of vast power was, as ever, the most remarkable aspect of Election Day.

EVANS—SYGMA

America's polling places are a graphic reminder of how stunningly diverse the country remains. In San Francisco, voters cast their ballots in the Mansion Hotel, a gingerbread Victorian landmark. A weathered town hall served the farm community of St. Mary's, Iowa. In Riddle (pop. 38), Idaho, some residents came by horseback to vote at the general store. In a Queens, N.Y., beauty parlor, democracy coexisted with comb-outs and curlers.

The lines, such as the one in Boston, were often long, but there was little of the mingling that usually goes on in queues. People were lining up for duty, not pleasure. A woman in Georgetown shielded her preference with an umbrella. Voters in Strafford, Vt., enjoyed both proximity and privacy. In Manhattan, a mother brought her baby into the booth with her, and in Washington, voters were elbow to elbow under a common spooky scene.

TIME, NOVEMBER 17, 1980

Against a backdrop of flag, family and friends, the President conceded defeat in the capital. Earlier, other candidates soon to become losers took their places among fellow citizens. In Afton, Minn., the Mondales lined up to vote. The Andersons walked to the polls in Rockford, Ill. Before he left Plains for Washington, the President had one moment of lost poise: tears welled at a moving goodbye. His polls had warned him of what was coming.

Anatomy of a Landslide

The debate, the economy and the hostages added up to a drubbing

"Too close to call." That was the cautious verdict of most professional pollsters measuring the Carter-Reagan race, at least until the last few days before the voting. Indeed, the only expert who had the figures to predict the historic runaway was Reagan's own pollster, Richard Wirthlin. The day before the election, California Pollster Mervin Field summed up what proved to be the conventional foolishness: "The choice of Reagan and Carter is as difficult a choice for the American public as they've had in at least 50 years."

Where did the experts—indeed, where did everybody—go wrong? Essentially, the pollsters missed a powerful sea change in the voters' mood that was going on as the Oct. 28 debate in Cleveland took place. Said David Neft, executive vice president of the Louis Harris organization: "This election locked in after the debate." In weekend polls before the election, both Harris and Gallup recorded a Reagan edge—but not enough for either to predict that he would win the industrial states that were thought to be the election's key.

TIME's pollster Daniel Yankelovich found Carter ahead in his last poll, which was taken two weeks before the debate. Yankelovich also believes that public opinion began changing rapidly only after the debate. "The dissatisfaction with Carter was there all along," he said, "but people couldn't bring themselves to vote for Reagan. The debate changed that."

The debate—and a lot, lot more. Clearly, other issues and events changed people's minds, since Carter's defeat was catastrophic, encompassing every section of the country and virtually every sector of the population.

In one way or another, the Reagan great sweep touched nearly every traditional Democratic voting bloc. That fact is all the more remarkable since Reagan had won his party's nomination as an avowed conservative. Nonetheless, according to polling conducted by ABC television, Reagan captured an estimated 41% of the union vote, which went 62% for Carter in 1976. Four years ago, Carter won 55% of the labor vote in heavily unionized Pennsylvania; this year his share dropped to 46%.

The Roman Catholic vote, which in pre-election polls seemed leaning toward Carter, slid to Reagan, 46% to 42%. In recent years, the Jewish vote has been about 60% Democratic; this year, according to ABC, it split between Carter and Reagan, 42% to 35%, with a surprising 21% going to Independent John Anderson.

White Southern Democrats, who helped Carter carry his native South in 1976, deserted in droves. The fundamentalist television ministers happily took credit for this turnabout, claiming to have registered 4 million conservative voters. Said the Rev. Jerry Falwell of Lynchburg, Va., one of the founders of the Moral Majority: "I think that these Christian people came out of the pews into the polls and caused this avalanche."

Among normally Democratic voters, according to the ABC poll, 25% went to Reagan. Independents went heavily for the Republican challenger, 52% to 30%; Reagan even got 22% of those who called themselves liberals—not to mention 72% of self-described conservatives. Republicans were loyal (87%), while the President's onetime backers were far less con-

When Jimmy Knew

Traveling with the President in the campaign's last hours, TIME *Correspondent Christopher Ogden provided the following report on Jimmy Carter's painful moment of truth:*

When Jimmy Carter flew back to Washington on Sunday to handle the hostage crisis, he thought he was in good shape in the polls taken daily by his own expert, Pat Caddell. He had gone into the Cleveland debate one to two points ahead of Reagan by Caddell's soundings, and the trend was in his direction. "It looked good," said one of the President's aides. By Friday, however, the debate results seemed to be taking effect. Jody Powell spoke of a "pause in momentum." Carter had dropped about four points, to one or two behind. But he was still in striking distance. Sunday, new figures had moved the President to five behind. He would have to campaign Monday, and so out he went.

The long day was nearly at an end when Carter's Air Force One dipped out of rainy skies into Seattle Monday night. Hamilton Jordan was on the phone from Washington with Powell. As the plane came in to land, the connection was broken. On the ground, Carter was rushed into the hangar packed with more than 1,000 cheering supporters and gave one of the best speeches of his campaign.

He was exhausted but exhilarated. It was over, and he felt a win was definitely possible. As he leaped off the stage to work the crowd, some junior staffers surprised him by putting on the public address system his 1976 campaign theme song. The tune had not been played since his last campaign. Carter started to choke with emotion when he heard it.

In the meantime, Powell was reconnected with Jordan. The President's chief political strategist had bad news. Caddell had just come over with his latest poll figures. Carter had dropped to ten points behind Reagan. The lead was insurmountable, Caddell had said. Jordan told Powell the election was lost. Powell was profoundly shocked. Carter was still inside shaking hands.

When the President bounded onto the plane for the long flight back to Georgia, Powell readied himself by pouring a stiff drink. He said he needed one to break that kind of news. But before he could collar the President, Carter was back in the staff cabin, talking with Domestic Affairs Adviser Stu Eizenstat and Rick Hertzberg, his chief speechwriter. They had been pleased with the day. The aides agreed that the last appearance had been great. Powell was agonizing. Carter then went back farther in the plane to ask the press pool to come up with him to the front for a chat. That lasted another 45 minutes. Carter still did not know he had lost before the polls even opened.

Finally, after they were in the air more than an hour, and Carter had finished a double martini, Powell got the President alone. Calling him "Governor," as he often does in private, Powell passed on Caddell's findings. Carter was devastated. He couldn't believe it. "In one sense, both he and Rosalynn were so naive," said an aide. "They had just never even considered the possibility of losing."

Rosalynn met her husband at the helipad when he arrived in Plains. When he told her the grim news, she was incredulous. She spent the rest of the morning fighting to maintain control, looking as if she had been hit in the stomach with a sandbag. On the flight to Washington after voting in Plains, they were finally alone in their forward cabin. They broke down together and cried.

sistent. According to an Associated Press–NBC survey, barely half of those who voted for Carter in 1976 did so this year.

Reagan did well in virtually every age group, taking 44% of those under 30 to Carter's 42%. He was surprisingly successful among women, who were expected to support Carter because of Reagan's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and his image as a warmonger. The ABC poll indicated that 47% of women voted for Reagan, 42% for Carter.

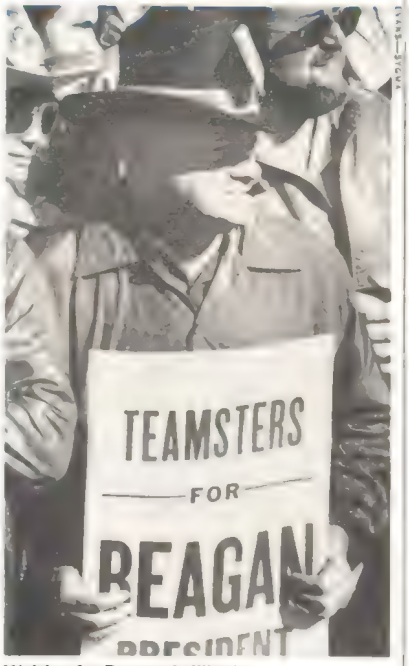
Only among blacks and Hispanics did the traditional Democratic ties still bind. Carter apparently took 82% of the black vote nationwide, Reagan only 13%. A survey in Texas showed that 84% of Hispanics went for the President, a marginal improvement over his 1976 showing. The Democratic loyalty of these two blocs, however, was no match for the massive desertions from the Carter cause among other groups.

Perhaps Carter's deepest humiliation was his poor showing in the South, except for his home state of Georgia. In winning all but one of the Southern states in 1976, Carter was actually bringing them home to the Democratic fold, since many had voted G.O.P. in the 1968 and 1972 Nixon victories. This year Carter's unpopularity and the appeal of Reagan's conservatism returned the region to the Republican column. While he moved in to seduce the South, Reagan was able to take for granted his solid bloc of states in the West. This forced the President into an exhausting, multifront campaign: trying both to shore up support in Southern states and to defeat Reagan in the industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest. It was, in hindsight, a hopeless cause.

A major reason for the voters' rejection of Carter was the economic issue—a widespread sense of anger that the President had proved incompetent to handle something that affects every paycheck and pocketbook. In talking with pollsters, voters listed inflation as their prime concern more frequently than any other issue. According to Election Night surveys, those who said inflation was their main worry went to Reagan 3 to 1.

Voters were also fearful about unemployment. Full employment has traditionally been a strong Democratic issue. Carter won over Reagan only narrowly among those voters who listed unemployment as their prime worry. Said New Yorker Joe Augeri: "I voted for Reagan today because I think the country needs a change, a new direction, a new management team running the Government. It was the inflation rate going up again and the country falling into a worse recession that changed my mind about Carter two or three weeks ago."

That sentiment was echoed across the country. In Warren, Mich., Maria Poyiatzis complained about increasing joblessness. Said she: "People like me want to work. I've already been laid off for one year, and I almost feel like I have to go begging for money." In Chicago, Dick Hillosky, a Democratic polling judge, watched voters streaming into the voting booth and commented, "They must be voting because they're so angry they can't see straight."



Waiting for Reagan in Illinois

Bitter fight for the blue-collar vote.

Waiting for Carter in Brooklyn

Pollsters were aware of the economic discontent but did not consider it enough to turn a seemingly stalemated election into a rout. Just before the Cleveland debate, the figures of Reagan Pollster Wirthlin had his candidate running seven points ahead of Carter. But the national polls did not show this big a margin of victory, and even Wirthlin conceded that with the margin of error calculated, the popular vote could be close. Wirthlin saw Carter as capable of picking up last-minute support from Anderson, as well as undecided voters, who were 13% of the electorate. It was the debate that changed the situation fundamentally. Said Wirthlin: "The debate was successful in conditioning the environment for the takeoff."

What lifted, as a result of the debate, was a lingering public fear that the Republican challenger was too hawkish to be President—an impulsive hip-shooter who might, as Carter implied, accidentally get the country into war. Relaxed and self-assured, Reagan was seen by more than 100 million people as something different from the image that Carter had tried to create for him. Bill McCleave of Parma, Ohio, was undecided before the debate; afterward, he said: "The hesitation I had about Reagan was on how he was going to handle foreign policy. The debate helped answer that question. I don't think he's so stupid that he's going to start a war."

Once that barrier to voting for Reagan was overcome, the floodgates opened, allowing pent-up frustrations with the nation's situation and dissatisfaction with Carter as President to pour through. Wirthlin found that on the day after the debate, Reagan had moved to a nine-point lead.

Meanwhile, Carter's in-house pollster, Patrick Caddell, was finding somewhat different numbers. The weekend before the debate, Caddell had Carter running just about even with Reagan, 41% to 40%. After the debate, Caddell waited 24 hours to let the impact sink into the electoral psyche and then surveyed the country again. By Thursday, Caddell's figures had Carter down by 4½ points. The President's forces concluded that Reagan had gained because of his debate performance, but they also believed this advantage would gradually erode. Caddell predicted that within 72 hours voter sampling would show an end to Reagan's short-lived boost; indeed, by the Saturday before the election, Caddell found that Carter and his challenger were once again in a dead heat. Wirthlin also took a Saturday sample, and he got dramatically different results: he found Reagan moving ahead by ten points after a temporary postdebate drop.

Then came Sunday morning and the sudden prospect that the 52 hostages seized by Iranian militants in Tehran might be released. No event had a more pervasive impact on the 1980 campaign, and its final weight in the landslide will

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be debated for a long time. But there is no disputing that the hostage question shadowed the candidates for an entire year. The hostages were seized on Nov. 4, three days before Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy announced his doomed candidacy against Carter. An early morning announcement by Carter, suggesting that there was new hope for the hostages' release, helped the President win the Wisconsin primary last April. Even the failed raid into Iran, which cost eight American lives, brought a slight improvement in the President's poll standings.

When the Iranian Majlis issued its conditions for the hostages' release on Sunday, Carter left the campaign trail to return to the White House. Meanwhile, Caddell went back to his polling. In his third postdebate survey, Caddell found Carter trailing Reagan by five percentage points—an unexpectedly sudden movement in the relative strengths of the two candidates. Clearly worried now, Caddell did some spot polling on Monday afternoon and took a final crash survey that night. The findings were painful. Carter was ten points down and falling fast. Wirthlin had reached the same conclusions 24 hours earlier.

The two pollsters disagree on just what happened. Wirthlin thinks the hostage question was a cumulative negative for Carter, a symbol of his numerous other failures in domestic and foreign policy. But Wirthlin does not think there was a sudden change in opinion about Carter because of the hostage news.

Caddell has another analysis. Says he: "What happened was a protest vote, not a choice between candidates. We saw an enormous reaction to frustration about the hostages, but it also reflected other sources of frustration." His survey showed no real change in the voters' approval-disapproval ratios on the two candidates. But Caddell did find that opinion turned quickly against the terms demanded by the Majlis: on Sunday, 31% viewed the terms as unreasonable; the next day, 47% did.

The Carter forces translate this movement in opinion to mean that the President was the victim of a sudden welling up of national frustrations, catalyzed by the last-minute roller-coaster developments involving the hostages. Throughout most of the campaign, Carter aides assert, their candidate had managed to focus voters' attention on Reagan's shortcomings. With the return of the hostage problem to center stage, the spotlight shifted —disastrously, as it turned out—back to Carter. Said White House Press Secretary Jody Powell: "It seems to me to go to the whole question of frustration, not just at Iran or even gas prices, but at a whole lot of things people see as happening and being unable to do anything about."

Throughout the campaign, Reagan and his team had been worried that a preelection deal with Iran to release the hostages might save Carter from defeat. Their best hope was that voters would take a cynical view of any last-minute developments in the hostage crisis. Caddell's final polls suggested that no more than a quarter of the voters believed that Carter was manipulating the Iranian situation for his own political benefit. Nonetheless, there was a residuum of distrust of Carter that some voters did attach to the hostage situation. Said Robin Case of Newark, N.J.: "Isn't it interesting that the yearlong hostage crisis finally comes to a head the Sunday before election? It is his fault they were taken hostage in the first place."

Other specific issues cropped up in voters' minds, leading them to reject Carter for a second term. Resentment of Brother Billy's unsavory wheeling and dealing with Libya surfaced even in Plains, Ga. The President's mean streak, which appeared in his campaign broadsides implying that Reagan would encourage racism and that he was a reactionary ideologue, turned people off and damaged Carter's reputation as a decent, well-intentioned man. The campaigning President, as some voters saw it, was spending most of his time criticizing Reagan and very little explaining his goals for a second term. But in the end it was almost everything in his record that, fairly or unfairly, convinced a majority of voters that Carter was simply not worth re-electing. A New York Democrat, Steward Brown, put it simply: "I think he is an inept man."

The magnitude of Reagan's victory raises the question of whether it might lead to a fundamental realignment in American politics. The states between the Rockies and the Mississippi River, with only one or two exceptions, have voted steadily Republican for three presidential elections. Carter's special claim to the South has been shattered, and there is not much prospect that a Democratic candidate in 1984, such as Kennedy or Walter Mondale, could reclaim it. Thus the likelihood is that the Republican inroads will continue to expand and grow.

The shift in allegiances of such groups as Jews, Catholics and blue-collar workers also suggests what Political Consultant Horace Busby has called a "Republican lock" on these formerly Democratic blocs. In Cleveland, Cuyahoga County Republican Chairman Robert Hughes, to be sure a prejudiced witness, says, "This is a watershed election. It has shattered the traditional voting patterns."

Pollster Caddell, understandably shielding his candidate from charges that he helped destroy the Democratic majority, disputes that notion. Says he: "Nothing in the data on the congressional vote or ideological preference or party preferences suggests any party realignment is taking place. The result was totally ahistorical." But even Caddell concedes that the damage was serious, noting, "The protest vote carried down the line from incumbent to party."

Yankelovich believes that the result was first and foremost a personal repudiation of Carter. He cautions against concluding that any vast change has occurred. What he does see is a splendid opportunity for the Republicans to fashion a lasting majority based on new ideas—especially if Reagan can build the kind of record in office that will encourage continued loyalty.

With an increasingly conservative Senate and House, Reagan has a chance to govern more effectively than his defeated opponent did. It is noteworthy, however, that much the same could have been said of Jimmy Carter exactly four years ago this week. —*By John Stacks.*

Reported by Laurence I. Barrett with Reagan and Johanna McGeary with Carter

An Interview with Ronald Reagan

The President-elect talks about how he will set the U.S. on a new course

In the first broad-ranging interview that he has given specifically to discuss plans for his new Administration, Ronald Reagan talked with TIME *Senior Correspondent Laurence I. Barrett, who has been with him for ten months of the campaign. Here are the plans and hopes of the next President.*

Q. You are the first certified conservative sent to the White House in more than 50 years. Do you think this represents a basic political change in the country?

A. I have to believe there has been a change. I think it was a change based on the discovery that some of the nostrums that were administered under the name of liberalism were not doing the job.

Q. Do you think you can achieve a fundamental change in direction of the Government?

A. Yes, I do. The people have made it evident that they want that change. And when that happens, I think that even Congressmen of the other party sense it from their constituents back home, and they themselves are in the market for new approaches to solve problems. Basically, I want to change the course we've been on in which Washington was seen as the answer to all the problems. I want to restore the balance between the different levels of government that has been so distorted in these recent decades. I would like to restore functions that properly belong at different levels of government to those levels; and restore also the taxing authority that has been pre-empted, turn much of it back to local government and state government.

Q. What will be your top priorities once you are in office?

A. I have appointed a number of task forces that are working right now to carry out the transition. But I would like immediately to get into the things that I think could begin to turn the economic situation around, such as elimination of excessive and unnecessary regulations. I would like to offer some legislative proposals principally aimed at the economy—including tax proposals. And start work on reducing the size of Government. One of the first things I want to do is issue an Executive order putting a freeze on the hiring of employees to replace those who leave Government service.

Q. What procedures will you use to select the key members of your Administration?

A. We will have a committee of people who are not only qualified to judge the accomplishments of possible appointees, but who also could have some clout in recruiting them for the Government. My basic rule is that I want people who don't want a job in Government. I want people who are already so successful that they would regard a Government job as a step down, not a step up. I don't want empire builders; I want people who will be the first to tell me if their jobs are unnecessary. Out there in the private sector, there's an awful lot of brains and talent in people who haven't learned all the things you *can't* do.

My basic rule is that I want people who don't want a job in Government. I don't want empire builders.

Q. So there will be some surprising choices?

A. Yes, there will be a lot.

Q. Do you plan to bring Democrats into your Cabinet?

A. I think so. Yes.

Q. Are there Democrats of sufficient stature and in sufficient agreement with you to handle the Pentagon or the State Department?

A. I believe so. But again, I think you are thinking in terms of people already in Government. I'm thinking in terms of people who are out there and very successful in the private sector.

Q. Whoever your Secretary of State is, he will be bringing you some complicated news about dealings with the Soviets. How are you going to make the Soviets more amenable on SALT or other issues?

A. I believe that in the Soviet Union right now, there is an element of confusion about the vacillation of our recent foreign policy, the threats and then the backdowns, and so forth. I honestly believe that the Soviet Union would prefer consistency. That you can be firmer with them, make it clear that you would not be pushed around, and they would know what to expect. They would know what our policy is. They do not want to accidentally make a move that would bring them into a confrontation they don't want. I believe that they would be happier with someone—even though it was someone who is firmer, someone who opposed some of the things they did—who let them know what they were dealing with. And this would be my approach.

Q. How do you intend to open this dialogue?

A. We could open it by telling them that we have to renegotiate SALT II. We could take what is usable out of SALT II, and then tell them that we are not going to ratify the treaty the way it is and then make it plain that we are ready to sit down to legitimate negotiations. I will say this right away.

Q. Would you welcome an early meeting with Brezhnev?

A. I remember a happier time when there was a tradition that the President of the U.S. never left our shores, but I don't say that you could do that today. Still, the first job is to let them see the course we were going to follow domestically, getting hold of our economy, straightening out our energy problems. And the fact that we have the will and determination to add to our defensive stature.

Q. Henry Kissinger recently proposed that the U.S. should seek an interim arms control agreement while a longer-term SALT III is being worked out, and that during this process there should also be broad political negotiations to get the Soviets back on the track toward détente. Does his proposal reflect your thinking?

A. Yes, very much. I agree that there has to be linkage be-

tween arms control and other areas of difference, and there has not been. The Soviets have wanted to discourage that so that they could go their own way with a free hand, such as in Afghanistan, or in the other things they are doing. I think if we are going to sit down and negotiate on arms or anything else, the whole package has to be on the table. You cannot sit there and negotiate arms and pretend that the Soviet Union is not invading Afghanistan. Broad negotiations are the kind that I would support and believe in.

Q. During the Ford Administration, Kissinger tried that approach with only limited success. How do you see that changing now?

A. I think that in negotiations you are going to have to make it plain to the Soviets that there are some disadvantages for them if they do not go along. Maybe the disadvantage would be that you wouldn't negotiate. I think that they have a very great stake in those negotiations.

Q. Would you, for instance, make a pullout from Afghanistan one price of serious arms control negotiations?

A. I'd make no commitment at this time on specific things because it's bad diplomacy to go into a negotiation having said everything that's on your mind in advance. But let's put it this way: their overall policy of aggression must be a part of what is going on at the negotiating table.

Q. Kissinger has been more and more visible at your side since the convention, and has become something of an adviser. What role do you foresee for him?

A. He has made it very plain that he does not want to be a part of the Administration, but he has also made it plain that any time I want to call upon him for missions or something of that kind, he would help.

Q. Perhaps he would be available for more full-time employment. Have you tested him on that?

A. No, but he has spoken out on that, and I accept that.

Q. President Sadat has suggested that an urgent Middle East summit is required to get the peace negotiations moving. Are you considering such a summit shortly after your inauguration?

A. I have not actually thought that out, but I could see where that particular trouble spot should very quickly have some knowledge of what this Administration's course will be.

Q. A very early initiative?

A. Yes. Possibly even before the Inauguration.

Q. You have been very explicit in your support for Israel, including its West Bank settlements. Are you concerned that such a policy may drive many Palestinians and other Arabs even further toward seeking support from Moscow?

A. The Nixon Administration was largely responsible for getting the Soviet influence out of the Middle East, but look how much it is getting back in there now. That is the boiling pot, and lately we have even seen the possibilities of, literally, a religious war—the Muslims returning to the idea that the way to heaven is to lose your life fighting the Christians or the Jews. I think that Jordan is a key in settling this. And I think if we stand ready to help we could achieve a settlement.

Q. Would you like to meet soon with Jordan's King Hussein?

A. Yes, and I think that meeting would be an important one.

Q. In dealing with foreign policy, will you rein in your National Security Adviser and leave the State Department pre-eminent?

A. I think of the NSC as a kind of liaison, and to correlate what comes in from the State Department for the benefit of a President. I think that the White House adviser should not be a rival of the Secretary of State, as he has been so much in the past. The National Security Adviser has seemed to be almost in competition with the Secretary of State, and I want that changed. Policy remains between the Secretary of State and the President. The adviser is the President's liaison to the Secretary.

I am determined to behave as if it's a one-term office. There is a terrible temptation to think in terms of the next election.

Q. All recent Presidents have promised large roles for their Vice Presidents, but their promises always seem to fade away. What do you plan for George Bush?

A. George very definitely has a great capacity to be of more help than one usually thinks of a Vice President as being, and I intend to utilize that. I think that there has long been a need for a Vice President to be something of what in the corporate world they would call an executive vice president, so that he is involved in the functions of Government.

Q. Your success will depend a lot on getting along with a Congress that will be Democratic and quite difficult. How will you do that?

A. I'm not sure how difficult Congress would be. The present Democratic Congress certainly had its problems with the present President. And some of those problems arose because they seem to be more favorable to the things I'm talking about than they were to what he wanted. I believe we've got a new kind of Congress, on both sides of the aisle. I think it might be a Congress that could be appealed to on the merits of what I am trying to do. I certainly intend to work with them.

Q. We know your views about the Department of Energy and the Department of Education. Would there be a fairly early attempt to get rid of those?

A. Well, I think you have to take at least enough time for some study, because both of those agencies, though they are new as agencies, did incorporate other existing programs in them. Now, you'd have to find out what of those programs are necessary, are proper functions of Government, and then, where should they properly fit.

Q. Governor, do you think it is time for a President to come into office proclaiming himself a one-term President?

A. No. I have thought of it at times, but I do not think it is necessary. The reason is that I am determined to behave as if it's a one-term office. I think that with too many Presidents, in fact with most of them, there is a terrible temptation to think in terms of the next election. This past Administration has been more guilty of that than most. But I will not do that. In California I promised myself that I would make every decision based on the assumption that I would never seek office again.

Q. And that will be the rule for this Administration?

A. Yes.

Q. That's a promise?

A. Yes.

A Determined Second Fiddle

Bush will probably urge policies of caution and balance

George Bush seemed nervous. It was a rare occasion on which he shared a platform with the head of his ticket, Ronald Reagan. Bush's voice was reedier than usual, his introductory praise of Reagan awkwardly effusive, his applause during Reagan's speech a shade overeager. Then a man sitting in a tree shouted something that made the crowd in Birmingham, Mich., laugh. A puzzled Reagan announced into an open microphone: "I didn't hear." Like a jack-in-the-box, Bush popped up to cup his hand around Reagan's ear and whisper what the tree sitter had said about Jimmy Carter: "He's a jerk." Reagan chuckled, and Bush sat down smiling, glad to have been of service.

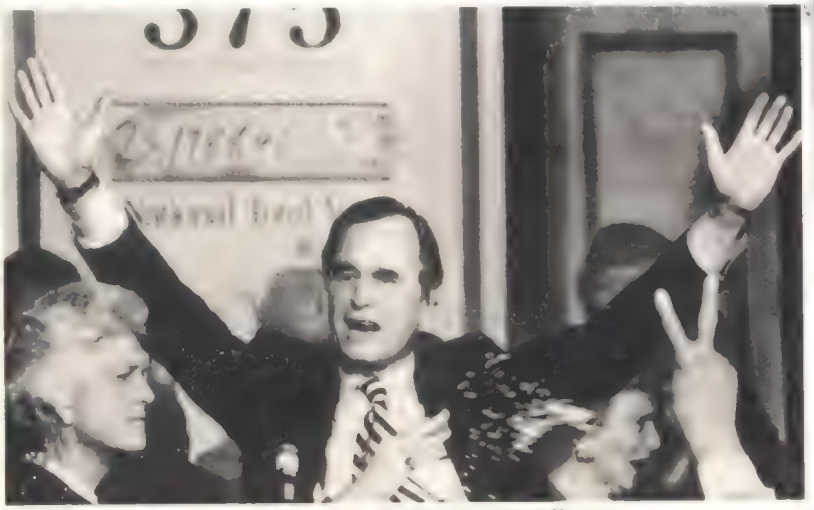
That scene illustrates the paradox that Bush will face when he is sworn in as Vice President. As No. 2 to a President who will turn 70 only 17 days after his Inauguration, Bush has unusually strong prospects of some day succeeding to the Oval Office himself. Quite apart from any possibility that he might have to finish Reagan's term, the widespread expectation that Reagan will retire after four years makes Bush a potential front runner for the Republican presidential nomination in 1984. But Bush knows that he can capitalize on his position only by loyally serving a very traditionalist chief who will probably require him to play the Vice President's classic public role of Invisible Man—and that he can exert influence only by metaphorically, if not literally, whispering into Reagan's ear.

As Bush sometimes told campaign audiences, "If I gain Reagan's confidence, I'll have tons to do. If I don't, I'll be going to funerals in Paraguay." To TIME he predicted with characteristic preppie self-confidence: "I'll get into the inner circle because I'm intelligent and motivated by what's in the best interest of the country." Reagan has said that he will seek Bush's advice on foreign affairs, national security matters and relations with Capitol Hill, befitting Bush's background as a former Congressman, envoy to the U.N. and China and director of the CIA. Bush will probably urge a policy of caution and balance, two qualities that Reagan had trouble convincing some voters he possessed.

But Bush makes clear that he expects to operate strictly behind the scenes while doing little in the public eye, except perhaps attending those foreign funerals. His model Vice President is Nelson Rockefeller. At meetings of the National Security Council that Bush attended in 1975-76 as head of the CIA, he recalls, "Rockefeller gave his advice and would speak up even if he disagreed with President Ford. He was strong, and Ford was impressed." Bush says he will do the same, but he adds that "if Reagan took a position that I disagreed with, I would not try to embarrass the President of the United States" by even leaking dissent. He showed that style during the campaign. While Bush was visiting China in August, Reagan said he favored "official" relations between the U.S. and Taiwan; Bush was infuriated but kept his anger to himself and tried to assure his hosts that Reagan's remarks had been misinterpreted.

Bush has been practicing a long time for such a role. In his Government posts, he loyally carried out presidential orders; asked once how much autonomy he had enjoyed as a diplomat, he candidly replied: "None." And this fall, as Reagan's running mate, he conducted a campaign that was the very model of self-effacement. He said so little of national interest that a reporter for the Los Angeles *Times* once phoned his editors to discuss a Bush story, was put on hold and fell asleep; when the reporter woke up six hours later, he found he was still on hold.

Bush frequently did make regional headlines and get on local TV news shows with ringing defenses of Reagan against Jimmy Carter's attacks—and indeed against the criticism that Bush himself had voiced during the Republican primaries. Asked about his charge that Reagan's plan for a 30% cut in income tax rates over the next three years constituted "voodoo economics," Bush blandly replied that Reagan had changed his economic policies (true, but not about the depth of tax cuts). As Election Day neared, some of Bush's aides griped privately that Reagan had run a bumbling campaign; one grumbled that if Bush had been the nominee, he would have been leading in the polls by 20 points. But Bush praised Reagan warmly to the end, telling one audience in Pittsburgh's black ghetto that "there is not a bigoted bone in Ronald Reagan's body. Not one."

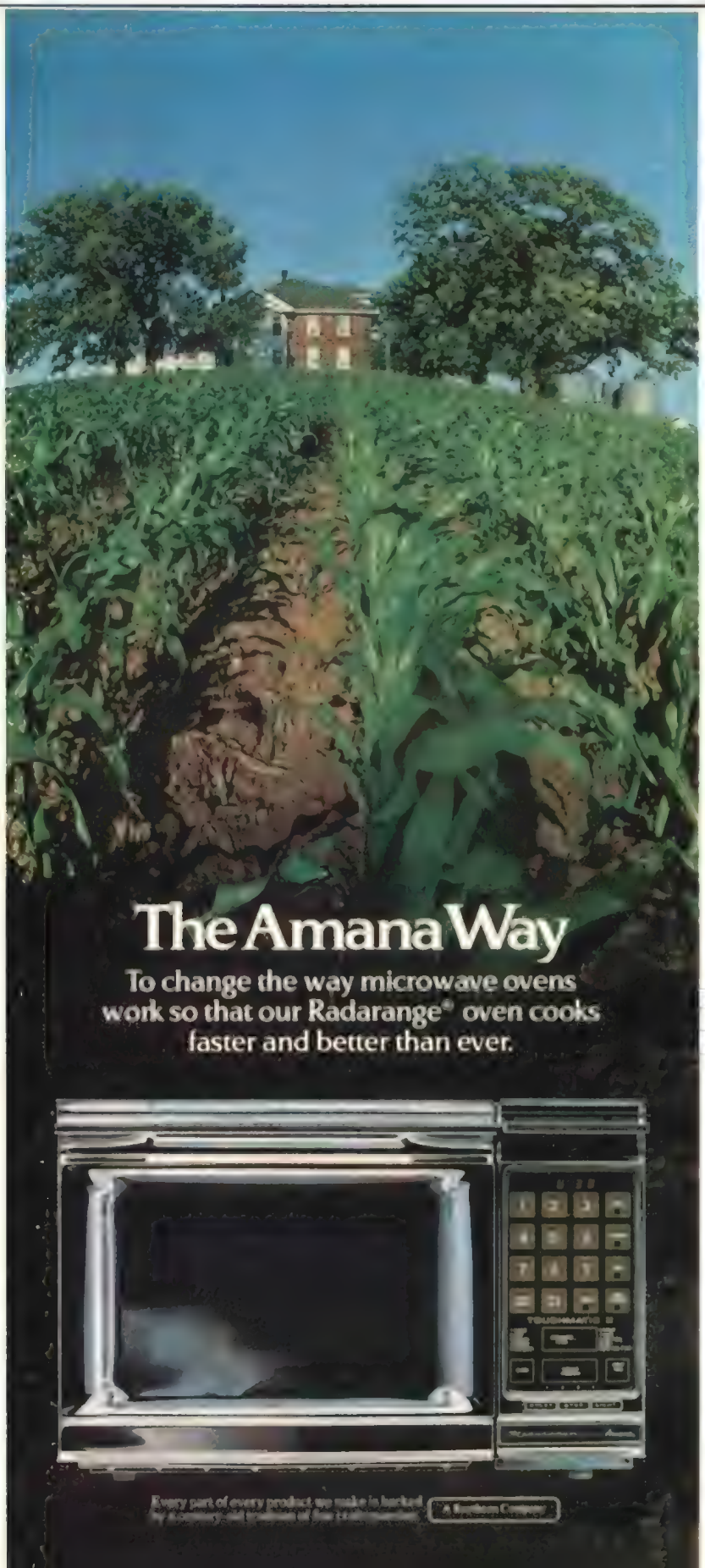


The Vice President-elect with Wife Barbara (left) celebrating in Houston

Ready, preppie and planning to crash his chief's inner circle.

Such loyalty is all the more remarkable because Reagan initially balked at putting Bush on the ticket; he doubted Bush's toughness. As the campaign began, the two knew each other chiefly from having shared podiums at party functions and debates during the primaries: Bush cannot remember ever having seen a movie starring Reagan. Bush insists that they now get along famously. "I really, really like the man," he bubbles. They conferred by phone about three times a week during the campaign, but Reagan paid Bush the compliment of letting him run his own race, secure in the knowledge that Bush would not upstage him. Bush also won Reagan's regard by scoring well among suburban voters, who found in Bush's dress and Eastern Establishment airs an image of reassuring moderation.

For all his determined playing of second fiddle, Bush still yearns for the top spot. Late in the campaign, he made one rare show of independence: at a time when there were many crucial swing states to visit on Reagan's behalf, Bush waited out a snowstorm to fly to the safe state of Iowa and campaign for Congressman Thomas Tauke, who had endorsed Bush on the eve of the Iowa caucuses that rocketed Bush to national renown in January. Much as Bush may have to stay under wraps, the vice presidency will give him many more chances to repay such past favors, rebuild the network of supporters he established during two years of arduous campaigning for the 1980 nominations, and otherwise prepare for a renewed White House bid of his own. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Douglas Brew and Evan Thomas with Bush*



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Draft Picks for the New Team

Reagan has some talented prospects to run his Administration

"You want to know what the Administration will be like?" asks William Casey, Ronald Reagan's campaign manager. "It will be very much like Eisenhower's. You'll see people of experience, people of heavier weight than have been around since then. More authority will be delegated to the Cabinet, and the White House staff won't have such a heavy hand."

The President-elect, who is famed for keeping reasonable hours and not getting bogged down in details, is expected to act pretty much like a chairman of the board who makes the big decisions but delegates day-to-day operations to others. Thus the people Reagan brings into office are likely to have larger-than-usual roles in running the Government. For several weeks, a group headed by Reagan's attorney, William French Smith, has been putting together a list of possible appointees for the main posts. Leading candidates for some of the top jobs:

Secretary of State. George Shultz, who served as Secretary of Labor and then the Treasury under Nixon, is favored for the post. Shultz has had considerable experience in government and the academic world, and is now vice chairman of Bechtel Inc., the giant construction company. Shultz has never held a diplomatic post, but a Reagan adviser notes that "diplomacy is applied common sense." Another possibility for State: General Alexander Haig, who as chief of NATO demonstrated diplomatic ability, as well as a firm grasp of geopolitics.

Although Reagan says that former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger does not want a regular job in the new Administration, he is still considered a long-shot candidate for his old post. Reagan now consults Kissinger on foreign policy, although he used to criticize his policies. But by appointing Kissinger, Reagan would risk outraging his right-wing supporters, who are already upset by the re-emergence of the architect of détente.

Secretary of Defense. Since Reagan needs at least one big-name Democrat in his Cabinet, a natural choice (Nixon also considered him for the job) is Senator Henry Jackson, who has always stood for a strong military. Another like-minded Democrat is Georgia Senator Sam Nunn. Still another possibility is Haig, although there would have to be a change in the law that prohibits any officer from becoming Defense Secretary until he has been off the active-duty list for ten years. Haig retired in June 1979.

Secretary of the Treasury. Alan Greenspan, who was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Ford and helped reduce double-digit inflation to less than 5%, is a leading contender. Another is Caspar Weinberger, who was Reagan's first finance director in Sacramento and who also served as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under Nixon.

White House Chief of Staff. The most likely candidate is Edwin Meese III, who was Reagan's righthand man during the campaign. As a policy adviser, Meese is closer to Reagan than any other aide, but he is not a good organizer and lacks Washington experience, as indeed do most of the members of Reagan's inner circle. If Meese does not become Chief of Staff, he might be named Attorney General. Coming up fast in the race for the top White House post is Jim Baker, a calm and collected lawyer from Houston who managed Ford's 1976 campaign, then George Bush's primary campaign, and joined Reagan after the G.O.P. Convention.

As for other top White House posts, the job of chief domestic affairs adviser will probably go to Martin Anderson, a senior fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and an expert on welfare. A flexible conservative, Anderson played a major part in persuading Nixon to establish the volunteer army. Michael Deaver, another trusted aide, will be given a post that keeps him close to the new President and allows him to monitor Reagan's public performances.

Richard Allen, Reagan's top campaign adviser on foreign affairs, resigned just before the election amid public reports that he had improperly used his position in the Nixon White House to arrange lucrative consulting contracts. But he reappeared in the Reagan entourage on Election Day, refueling speculation that he might yet have a substantive Administration role.

Political Consultant Stuart Spencer is returning to private business in California, but is expected to retain a chair in Reagan's kitchen Cabinet. So is Richard Wirthlin, Reagan's talented pollster. Also likely to be called on for political advice is Nevada Senator Paul Laxalt, who is a close friend. Three women are slated for Cabinet or sub-Cabinet positions. Two are Republicans: Anne Armstrong, former co-chairman of the G.O.P. National Committee and Ambassador to Britain; and Elizabeth Dole, wife of Senator Robert Dole and a former member of the Federal Trade Commission. The Democrat is Jeane Kirkpatrick, professor of government at Georgetown University.

Other conservatives clustered around the Hoover Institution and the American Enterprise Institute in Washington are expected to be tapped for posts at State, Defense and the National Security Council. Republicans argue that perhaps not since the days of Theodore Roosevelt have so many gifted intellectuals been available to a Republican Administration. They have a point —*By Edwin Warner. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett*

G.O.P. talent bank: (top) George Shultz, Jim Baker, Martin Anderson, Alan Greenspan; (bottom) Michael Deaver and Edwin Meese, the President-elect's longtime associates

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Rejected by the voters, alienated from his party, Carter will have plenty of time for fishing

Is There Life After Disaster?

The Democrats must build anew a party base—and vision

Democrats wandering from the wreckage of their 1980 presidential campaign will be bitter and disconsolate for a while. But as the smoke lifts and they count their losses in the Senate and in the House, it may occur to them that in terms of the party's future, the defeat of Jimmy Carter, for all its landslide proportions, was not necessarily a disaster. Perversely, four years of Ronald Reagan may be what the Democrats need to recover the internal discipline and philosophical coherence—the party's "soul," as an oldtime New York politician puts it—that have been bleeding away since the late 1960s.

In a sense, Carter was an irrelevance to his own party. He was never a Democratic leader by either blood or inclination—not really. He never sought, like Franklin Roosevelt or Lyndon Johnson, to preside as paterfamilias over the great brawling Democratic coalition, rewarding and remonstrating from the head of the table while all the family factions (workers, blacks, Jews, city dwellers, the poor, intellectuals) passed around the meat and potatoes. Carter won the White House in 1976 as a sweet-psalming loner circuit riding outside the party structures. As President, owing little or nothing to the party, he practiced a cool neglect of it. His motivations were rooted in his own interests, not the party's: a perfect '70s politician. He did not encourage new Democratic talent or ideas; he neglected both the mechanism and the vision of the party, its sheer reason for being. Thus Carter's defeat is less traumatic to the Democrats than it might have been: it is like the end of a loveless marriage.

In defeat, Carter will probably cease almost at once to be a political force. One night last month, he swore: "This is my last campaign, the last political race I will ever run." A book based on the meticulous diary he kept during his White House years probably will occupy him, along with plans for a presidential library, probably in Atlanta. He may emerge now and then to pay off old political debts—to Fritz Mondale, for example—but as one Eastern Democratic leader says, "As far as the party is concerned, Carter will disappear like dew on a hot day."

With Carter in power another four years, the Democrats might have been able to slide along in the self-delusion that their party remained, after all, the voice of the American majority, still something like the fractiously diverse pluralistic parade that Roosevelt organized. Now Democrats will have to face the truth: their party has been rusting and clunking along for years on only two or three cylinders. Unless they recover their partisan energies and intellectual vigor, the Democrats could enter a long historical passage of declining influence and relevance, becoming the political equivalent of some of the decaying cities of the Northeast, once flourishingly productive, the exuberant places where the modern Democratic Party originated.

A presidential defeat, of course, usually sets off apocalyptic prediction about the doom of the losing party. Forecasting the demise of the G.O.P., which has been in the minority in nearly all the years since F.D.R. came to power in 1933, became almost a genre of punditry. But descendants of the Goldwater expedition that was buried under Lyndon Johnson's landslide in 1964 have survived to see themselves this year proclaimed the emergent, more conservative American majority. The Democratic Party will surely endure as well.

But it must fundamentally change. Says Larry Hansen, administrative assistant to retiring Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson III: "This is a party with no sense of what it's about, what it should be about, where it's going, where it should go. It tends to be dominated by men whose enthusiasm ran out a decade ago. There is no vision."

Both the ideas and the constituencies of the Democratic Party have grown thinner, partly because of the party's own past successes. Now, more have-nots have. Blue-collar workers, who were once a strong and reliable phalanx of Democratic power, have joined the middle class; in straitened times, an era of limits, they see Big Government not as a source of protection, as before, but as a vast bureaucracy, the big spenders installed by Democrats, extorting their tax dollars. They rebel against welfare. If the economic pie will not expand, then a certain amount of the emotional generosity goes out of the old Democratic program. Inflation has been hard on the humane instincts of Democratic liberalism.

The demographics changed: Americans in large numbers abandoned the Northeast for the South and Sunbelt. The Democrats seemed to become the party of the cities, the problems, the blacks, the Hispanics and welfare. An undercurrent of racism is down there in the shadows of the rightward trend. The suburbs, more affluent than the cities, are growing; so are the small towns of rural America. Those who fled the cities now have a stake, however small, that they want to

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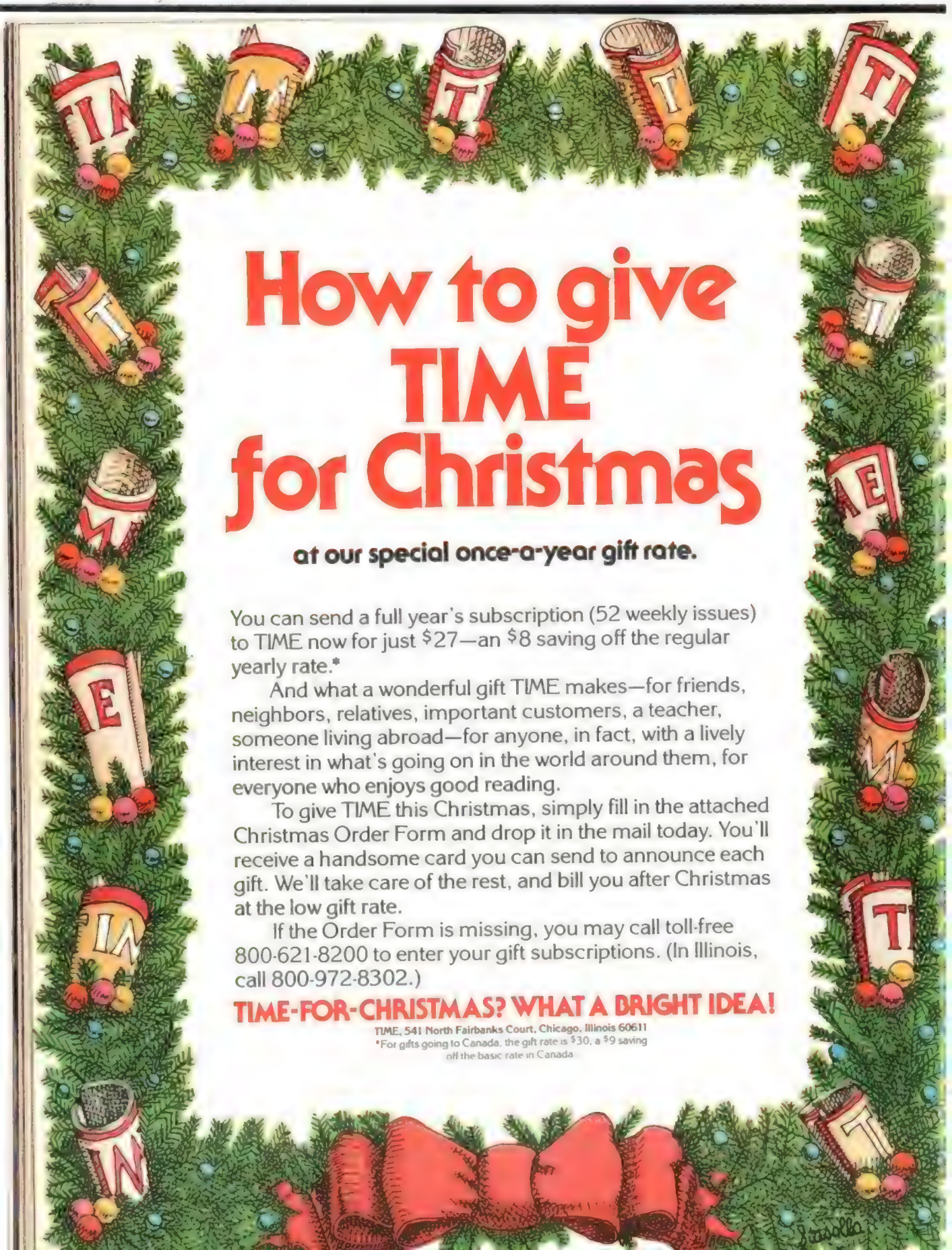
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hang on to, and yet their taxes are high, and rising. The Republicans' pitch that Democratic deficits are the cause of inflation has found an audience in that portion of the middle class that feels the Democratic Party has grown old, run out of ideas, that it cannot help them any more. The Democrats came to be seen as part of the problem, not part of the solution.

The procedures of the party have changed profoundly as well: the 1972 "McGovern reforms" designed to open the party to more direct democratic participation have ended by destroying the party's formal structure. The McGovernites were, many of them, college-educated, upper-middle-class, amateur political activists, schooled in Viet Nam and civil rights protest, who regarded the old party boss structures as morally corrupt. The Watergate era, which made all party politicians vaguely suspect, led many candidates (including Jimmy Carter) to minimize their party affiliations, virtually to deny them. And television allowed candidates to project themselves directly upon the electorate's psyches without the mediation and benediction of the party.

Without the power to discipline and reward, the always fractious F.D.R. coalition has pretty much fractured. Even many blacks deserted the party they used to support almost by instinct. A profound psychological shift occurred in American voters: they lost much of their desire or need to be part of a political majority, but instead formed themselves into single-issue constituencies, an oddly specialized and peculiarly destructive version of politics. In the era of single-issue politics, it is not a broad political agenda, a party's view of the nation, that is important, but gun control or abortion or ERA or women's rights or busing.

Still, in the coming Reagan years, the Democrats may coalesce somewhat. They will enjoy the always exploitable negative advantage: as the party of opposition in a conservative Republican Administration, the Democrats will attract new loyalties, new factions of those disaffected with Reagan's rule. Those out in the cold always tend to huddle closer together.

The real recovery of the Democratic Party will have to begin with leadership. The two clear contenders in the next four years are Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale, although each talks vaguely and modestly of his future. "They'll both start running for '84," said one Carter aide, "and it will be great for party fund raising, because they'll vie to see who goes to more Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners." Both Kennedy and Mondale have built up substantial political IOUs this year. Mondale's dogged and solitary stumping around the nation for Carter has built him a large and loyal constituency within the party. The doubts about Mondale have always focused on his belly: Is there enough fire there? One of his aides snaps: "That would not be a dilemma for him now."

But Kennedy and Mondale both preach the same old-time Democratic religion, and therefore appeal to something of the same constituency—even though Kennedy may still possess a certain magic of political celebrity that transcends ideologies. Jonathan Moore, a moderate Republican who is head of the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, believes that the first Democratic reaction to Carter's defeat will be a lament that the Georgian "ran as a Republican," that the party must regain its soul by reasserting itself as the champion of the poor and minorities, that it must turn to Kennedy or Mondale for a comeback in 1984.

But that impulse may fade, Moore believes, as the Democrats seek a newer breed, with less static and traditional views. The Senate may offer some notable new stars, including Georgia's Sam Nunn and Connecticut's Chris Dodd. Among the young Democratic Governors who are potential comers in the party is West Virginia's Jay Rockefeller.

As for the oldtimers, House Speaker Tip O'Neill and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd now automatically become their party's highest elected officers in national politics. But neither man seems likely to become the voice of the Democrats' future.

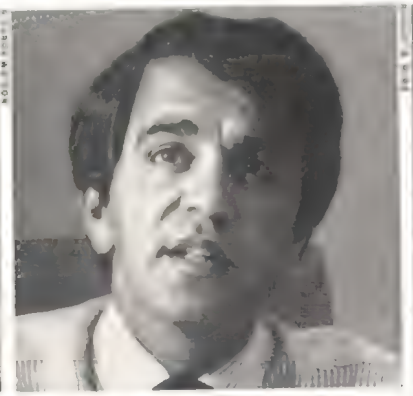
In addition to fresh faces, the Democrats will have to find some new ideas of their own. Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas believes that Democrats must change their ways. "The party must face up to it," says Tsongas. There are six basic realities to address, he says, and the party that confronts them will be the majority party of the future: 1) the energy crisis, 2) the "biosphere overload"—hazardous wastes, etc., 3) nationalism in the Third World, 4) a new view of the Soviet Union, taking into account the difficult times ahead for that butter-shy, gun-heavy society, 5) the reality of the nonexpanding economic pie, 6) the need to be competitive economically in world trade.

"It is to the Democrats' advantage," says Tsongas, "that we are challenged by a party that is still stuck in the 1950s. Ronald Reagan is a product of the things that brought us down. A Reagan true to his advisers would open up opportunities to the Democrats in 1984."

But even massive Republican fecklessness in the next four years would not automatically restore the Democrats to their previous vigor. To start, they must bring back at least a degree of party discipline, perhaps by partly undoing the 1972 reforms. They must somehow escape their orthodoxies and old incantations, a tendency toward reflexive liberalism that faces problems by creating Government agencies and printing more money to pay for them. Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York wrote tellingly last summer: "Of a sudden, the G.O.P. has become a party of ideas."

The Democratic Party may find an opportunity in the next four years to demonstrate the virtues of its old openheartedness when it is practiced in imaginative ways. But if the party merely reverts to a reflexive New Dealism, it may only be an opposition that proves the maxim formulated by the late social theorist Ernest Becker: "A protest without a program is little more than sentimentalism—this is the epitaph of many of the great idealisms." —*By Lance Morrow. Reported by Simmons Fentress and Johanna McGeary/Washington*

Senator Kennedy: a certain magic



Senator Tsongas: need for an agenda

Vice President Mondale: lots of IOUs

Squeezed Out of the Middle

Anderson has himself and the system to blame for his failure

When John Anderson began his independent race for the presidency last April, his campaign was more than a pipe dream and an ego trip. The public opinion polls showed that great numbers of Americans were unhappy with the prospective nominations of Reagan and Carter. They indicated as well that a lot of people were eager for a third choice. Looking back, an Anderson aide said last week: "The whole campaign represents a missed opportunity." The reasons that Anderson failed to exploit his opportunity were a result partly of his own limitations and partly of those of the system. His experience showed dramatically how difficult it is for an independent to reach the White House.

Written by Republicans and Democrats, the election rules naturally provide a huge advantage for the established parties. Their candidates are automatically certified for the ballots in the 50 states. The federal treasury gives their nominees $29.4 million each with which to run their general election races. And the parties themselves are allowed to raise an extra $4.6 million to spend on behalf of their tickets.

Still, Anderson and his band of sometimes arrogant but always ardent amateurs plunged in anyway. By the end of the campaign, they had raised some $12 million, mostly by direct-mail appeal, from 217,000 donors. Indeed, they had a list of financial supporters three times larger than the Democratic Party's and had proved that they could raise money in $30 and $40 chunks. More remarkable yet, they managed to collect enough signatures in just a few months to put Anderson on the ballot in every state.

Ironically, these accomplishments helped doom him in the end. His effort to raise money and get on the ballot so monopolized his time and talent that he was unable to fulfill the most fundamental requirement of all for an independent: giving the electorate a clearly defined reason to vote for him. Instead, Anderson's campaign spent more time criticizing Carter's record and Reagan's qualifications than in defining the "Anderson difference."

"Anderson had a real prospect with such looseness in the electorate," says John Sears, Reagan's former campaign manager. "But he wasn't able to elevate himself from the posture of being the lesser of three evils. Had Anderson been able to articulate some truly new ideas, I think he would have done very well." Looking further for an explanation of just what went wrong, Edward Coyle, Anderson's former deputy campaign manager, says, "There was no burning issue that people were outraged about, no issues on which he was right and Reagan and Carter were wrong that he could grab hold of and run on."

At his apogee in early summer, Anderson was favored by nearly 25% of the voters, according to the surveys, but he was caught in a vicious circle: he could rise no further in the polls if he did not seem to have a chance of winning, and he could not appear to have a chance of winning unless he rose higher in the polls. Trying to break out of his dilemma, Anderson moved left, at least in the perception of many voters, to mobilize his mostly youthful supporters and liberal money givers. As a result, he began losing the backing of the political center, and down he went in the polls and, on Nov. 4, in the voting booths.

Might it have been different? Probably not. Until nearly the very end of the campaign, Anderson was too preachy, humorless and high-flown on the stump. For all his intelligence, he did not wear well. His personality was not bright enough to overcome his lack of a theme.

Another basic problem, compounded by the fact that he started in April, far too late, was that Anderson necessarily had to run as an independent because he had no time to organize a third party, which would have given him a supporting framework. Says California Pollster Mervin Field: "Anderson was suddenly thrust into the arena and asked to play major league ball without a team and without preseason conditioning." Altering the metaphor, Campaign Director David Garth says, "It was like they gave us a moped and told us to race against two Maseratis. But I still think it wasn't that far off if we had done it correctly." Sid Gardner, a liberal Republican who coordinated Anderson's efforts in Connecticut, learned his lesson: "If you are serious about winning the presidency, you start early and you start serious. It is not faddish, it is not chic, and it is not just reaction to whoever the two parties' nominees are."

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

Running Mate Patrick Lucey and the candidate pondering the problems of their campaign

Trying to play "major league ball without a team and preseason conditioning."

Anderson takes much of the blame for not making more of his opportunity, which he knew was there. But he also believes that the obstacles were too great. Says he: "The mystique of the two-party system has been crafted in the minds of many people as somehow an institutional prop that we shouldn't throw out in an age of instability and rapid change. Maybe it is just one more thing that it is a little too much for people to be willing to comprehend and absorb in a relatively short period of time."

Encouraged by even the modest accomplishments of this campaign, some Anderson aides are now contemplating forming a third-party movement based on their experiences. Anderson's direct-mail expert Tom Mathews, for example, says that should the candidate try to build a third party, he could count on $3 million a year from the campaign's loyal contributors.

Perhaps, but such a continued effort would depend largely on the political climate that develops in the next few months. It also depends, of course, on what Anderson himself decides to do. At the moment, he is not sure whether or not he wants to lead a third party. Says the man who caused a great deal of excitement in the 1980 race—at least for a while: "I can see through a glass only darkly now." —*By John F. Stacks. Reported by Eileen Shields with Anderson*

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Reagan Gets a G.O.P. Senate

And some of its most lustrous liberals are shown the door

The results surprised even the most optimistic Republicans. They had counted on a gain of maybe four or five seats in the Senate. They ended up with an eleven and possibly twelve—enough to give them control of the chamber for the first time since 1954. And victory was all the sweeter since the election toppled most of the Senate's leading Democratic liberals: George McGovern in South Dakota, Frank Church in Idaho, Birch Bayh in Indiana, John Culver in Iowa, Warren Magnuson in Washington, Gaylord Nelson in Wisconsin, and John Durkin in New Hampshire. Only a few liberals managed to keep their seats: California's Alan Cranston and Missouri's Thomas Eagleton won easily, while Colorado's Gary Hart barely beat back his Republican challenger, Mary Estill Buchanan and Vermont's Patrick Leaky seemed to have won by a hair. Two other Democrats refused to concede defeat on Election Night: Elizabeth Holtzman of New York and Incumbent Robert Morgan of North Carolina.

A Senate under G.O.P. management would be a far different place, with more moderate Democrats facing more conservative Republicans. Savoring a big re-election win in Kansas, Republican Robert Dole observed: "The liberals in Congress are going to have to learn a lesson. There is a kind of liberalism that doesn't wash any more." At the same time, the high turnover will probably make the Senate even more independent and self-willed. While its majority will share the basic outlook of the conservative President-elect, a Republican 97th Senate could prove to be just as balky as its predecessor.

The victorious Republicans received a lot of unsolicited help from the various right-wing organizations that have sprung up to combat liberalism, like the National Conservative Political Action Committee. But it is questionable how much these groups accomplished. For the most part, the G.O.P. candidates rejected their strident tactics, fearing a backlash. In general, the Republicans won because their opponents had grown too liberal for their states. Yet the conservative groups may have become a permanent feature of the political landscape. In Oklahoma, for example, the Protestant Moral Majority supported a born-again Catholic, State Senator Don Nickles, who overcame the favored Democrat, Andy Coats.

Elsewhere, Republicans were carried to victory by the surging Reagan tide: in Pennsylvania, former Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter edged out former Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty; in North Carolina, John East, a professor of political science at East Carolina State University and protégé of Republican Senator Jesse Helms, came from behind to unseat Democratic Incumbent Robert Morgan; in Georgia, Herman Talmadge was upset by Businessman Mack Mattingly. Ironically, the man who next to Reagan is most identified with conservatism almost lost. Arizona's Barry Goldwater, 71, seemed infirm to many voters but managed to eke out a narrow victory. Some of the key Senate contests:

Alabama. Ask any Alabaman. How could the son of "Kissin' Jim" Folsom, the state's popular former Governor, fail to win a statewide election? But that is what happened when "Little Jim" ran up against retired Admiral Jeremiah Denton, 56, who was riding a surge of Southern patriotism. Denton, who spent 7½ years in a North Viet Nam prison after his plane was shot down, went on the air waves with the warning: "Our military is in the worst shape it has been since George Washington walked around barefoot at Valley Forge."

Denton sounded some other concerns. Strongly supported by the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, he wondered if teen-age unhappiness and suicides were not the result of excessive emphasis on sex in popular songs and TV shows. The salty-tongued admiral made light of his opponent's age ("too young") and intelligence ("I'm sure there are some 31-year-olds in the state who are smarter than me, but he's not one of them"). But in general, the candidates agreed on the issues: a balanced federal budget but greater defense spending and less Government interference in personal lives. Probably the biggest mistake of the campaign was made when a Democratic Party leader said that it was dumb for a top-ranking officer to let himself be captured during the Viet Nam War. The voters let it be known that was no way to treat a hero by giving the underdog admiral the victory with 50.7% to 47.5% of the vote.

Florida. "When I'm in Washington, you'll know I'm there," promised Paula Hawkins on the stump. "You need a fighter in the U.S. Senate. They've had too many lovers up there." Her contest was far from a love feast as she bested her Democratic opponent, William Gunter, with grit and grace and the right combination of issues to win, 51% to 49%.

South Dakota Republican Jim Abdnor

Idaho Republican Steven Symms

New York Republican Alfonse D'Amato greeting supporters in Brooklyn

Hawkins, 53, drew sharp distinctions to Gunter, 46, on social issues. She called for a constitutional amendment to allow prayers in school; Gunter opposed it. He supported ERA; she did not. There was no argument over the candidates' support of Israel, a critical issue for Florida's sizable Jewish population. Gunter, who is a Baptist, reminded voters that he had met his wife Teresa in Jerusalem. Hawkins, a Mormon, told members of a synagogue: "There are twelve tribes of Israel, and the Mormons happen to be one of them. That's my belief." Hawkins was undoubtedly helped by the Reagan landslide. At a rally in Miami, the G.O.P. candidate told a loudly cheering crowd: "I want Paula Hawkins there in Washington beside me." He got her.

Idaho. Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was the No. 1 target of the Republicans. One after another, the big G.O.P. guns—Reagan, Gerald Ford, Senator Orrin Hatch—came to Idaho to fire away at the Senator. For more than a year, conservatives belonging to A.B.C. (Anybody But Church) had been sniping at him. Thrown on the defensive, Church, 56, had to spend most of his time explaining himself. In the end, Idahoans were unpersuaded and rejected him in favor of Republican Congressman Steven Symms, 42.

A chummy, folksy sort with a penchant for apples and not always dazzling one-liners, Symms put steady pressure on his opponent, trying to smoke him out as a snake-in-the-grass liberal in a state where conservatives abound. Symms focused his attack on Church's dovishness on foreign affairs, his support of the Panama Canal treaties and his occasional kindly remarks about Fidel Castro. Said Symms: "I say we must keep our commitments to our friends. Church favors throwing our friends to the alligators and hopes they'll eat us last." Stressing that he was conducting a "home-town campaign," Symms implied that his opponent was the darling of the Eastern liberals.

Near the end of the campaign, the Symms camp zeroed in on Church's role as chairman of the Senate committee that investigated the CIA. The Republicans echoed frequent attacks on Church for undermining the agency, and they even produced a letter purportedly written by John Wayne in 1975 castigating the Senator for ruining the CIA and the FBI. There were obviously enough John Wayne types alive in Idaho to take the message to heart and vote Church out of office.

Indiana. No U.S. Senator has ever been elected to a fourth term in Indiana. That precedent survived when Republican Congressman Dan Quayle, 33, handily defeated Incumbent Democrat Birch Bayh, 54% to 46%. Bayh, 52, also had a more important disadvantage of being too liberal for his solidly conservative state.

Quayle kept pounding away at

Iowa Republican Charles Grassley making a point to voters in Postville

Florida Republican Paula Hawkins

Indiana Republican Dan Quayle

Bayh's liberal record, reminding voters of their state's almost 12% unemployment rate, and calling for the Kemp-Roth 30% tax cut. Quayle accused Bayh of wanting to "spend, spend, spend our way to prosperity." He added: "If that were true, New York would be the most prosperous city in the country."

To counter Bayh's charge that he was the tool of out-of-state interests, Quayle emphatically dissociated himself from the right-wing groups that worked on his behalf. In the final weeks, Bayh produced some rather startling TV footage showing Quayle, cocktail in hand, at a party with oil lobbyists in Houston. The ad accused Quayle of soliciting campaign funds from Big Oil and ended with the slogan: "Birch Bayh—fighting for Indiana, not Texas." Quayle riposted with ads charging that Bayh, too, had accepted plenty of Texas money. In the end, Texas spending seemed to matter less than federal spending, and Bayh lost.

Iowa. The Scriptures have served as ammunition in many battles over the centuries, yet their prominence in the Iowa contest was startling. Trading biblical quotations blow for blow, Democratic Incumbent John Culver, 48, fought evangelicals and fundamentalists who backed his G.O.P. opponent, Congressman Charles Grassley, 47. Culver even wrestled one of his foes to the ground when the man grew violent at a rally. Culver may have won the wrestling match, but he lost the battle to Grassley, 54% to 46%.

In contrast to Culver's stormy stumping, the tall, lanky, rather disheveled Grassley took a low-keyed approach. At his best with small groups, he supported standard conservative positions. In the final weeks of the campaign, he made an effort to broaden his appeal by touring the state with Robert Ray, Iowa's popular and moderate Republican Governor.

Culver, meanwhile, kept slugging. He tried to capitalize on Grassley's 1977 vote against a steep hike in Social Security taxes to make the system solvent. Culver figured that Iowans would be receptive to the issue since the state has the fourth highest percentage of people over 65 (after Arkansas, Florida and Rhode Island). But Iowans showed that they are apparently far more concerned about high taxes than pensions and chose Grassley.

Mazda 1981

The new Mazda RX-7. Just one look and you'll see its incredible value versus Porsche 924 or Datsun 280ZX.

Think for a moment of all you expect in a fine sports car. Then compare your expectations with all you get in the new Mazda RX-7.

The sleek style you expect is all there. Including many new exterior refinements. The look is clean and *functional.* In fact, the RX-7's aerodynamics have never been better. Inside, there's a new instrument cluster and more-convenient gear-shift lever.

The performance you expect is also there. 0 to 60 happens in a quick 8.6 seconds. Handling is superb, too. The compact rotary engine is placed *behind* the front axle, for ideal weight distribution.

You expect good mileage. Instead, the front, mid-engine RX-7 offers *great* mileage. In fact, 24% better gas mileage than last year. And with its increased fuel tank capacity, you have a highway driving range of 498 miles.

21 EST. mpg **30** EST. hwy mpg **

Of course, you also expect a lot of features. And our long list won't disappoint you in the least.

The new RX-7 does, however, come with one thing most people don't expect. A price that makes it an absolutely astonishing value.

The RX-7 GS comes with all this. And more. • 2-speaker AM/FM stereo radio • Power antenna • 5-speed overdrive transmission • Steel-belted radials • Dual remote-control sideview mirrors • Halogen headlights • Front and rear stabilizer bars • Analogue quartz clock • Tachometer • Remote-control fuel filler door release • Electric remote hatch release • Power-assisted front disc, self-adjusting rear drum brakes • Dual covered stowaway lockers • Luggage hold-down strap • Map, cargo and glove compartment lights

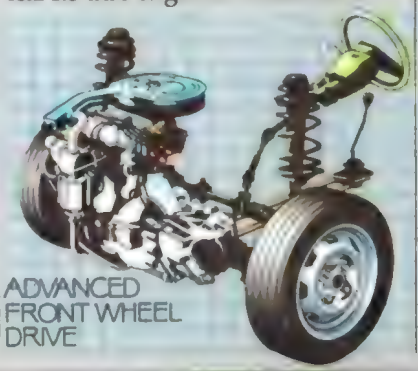
**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for standard RX-7's. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. California, 20 Est. mpg, 30 Est. hwy. mpg

Mazda's rotary engine licensed by NSU-WANKEL

The all-new front-wheel-drive Mazda GLC. Just one look and you'll see its remarkable value versus Rabbit or Civic.

In a world of good economy cars, Mazda now announces a *great* one. The all-new 1981 Mazda GLC was conceived, engineered and built to be nothing less than the new state of the art in front-wheel-drive technology. And signals important new advances in what you can expect—and should look for—in a car of this class.

Starting with the basic concepts and inherent advantages of the transverse-engine, front-wheel-drive configuration, Mazda engineers have redesigned, re-engineered and refined many major component areas. Like a more powerful yet more economical 1.5 litre engine. Advanced 4-wheel independent suspension. And a redesigned rack-and-pinion steering system. The result is a sophisticated, high-quality front-wheel-drive car that may surprise you. Especially if you've driven others.


ADVANCED FRONT WHEEL DRIVE

The all-new GLC is fun to drive. The steering is light and precise. The shifting is quick and positive. The turning diameter is one of the shortest around. And the interior is one of the roomiest in its class. In fact, this new GLC is actually bigger, faster, lighter, more aerodynamic and quieter than its predecessor.

Yet, importantly it also offers substantially increased gas mileage.

35 EST. mpg **43** EST. hwy mpg **

When you're looking at economy cars, test-drive the all-new 1981 front-wheel-drive Mazda GLC. One drive may change your expectations of how refined an economy car can be. And one look at its competition will show you its remarkable value.

Take a test-look and a test-drive soon at your Mazda dealer.

LOW CENTER OF GRAVITY

GLC Custom: a new generation of technical sophistication in front-wheel-drive economy cars.
• New 1.5 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine • Rack-and-pinion steering • Power front disc brakes • 4-wheel independent suspension • Steel-belted radials • Split fold-down rear seat backs • Electric rear window defroster • Cut-pile carpeting • Remote-control driver's door mirror

GLC Custom L adds all this:
• 5-speed overdrive transmission
• Rear window washer/wiper
• Quartz analogue clock
• Intermittent-action windshield wipers • Remote hatch release
• Dual map lights and interior light

GLC Sport has even more:
• Extra-wide tires and wheels
• Special Sport wheel covers
• Tachometer • Tilt steering wheel
• Halogen headlights • Wide body-side mouldings

*Manufacturer's suggested retail prices. Actual prices set by dealers. Taxes, license, freight, options (RX-7 alloy wheels $320-$325; 626 Coupe wide tires and covers $150) and other dealer charges extra. Prices may change without notice. Availability at dealers of vehicles with specific features may vary

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for GLC Custom 3-Door with 4-speed transmission. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less. GLC Custom 5-Door, Custom L 3-Door and Sport with 5-speed, 35 Est. mpg, 45 Est. hwy. mpg.

626 Sport Coupe
$6795*

The new Mazda 626. Just one look and you'll see its exceptional value versus Celica, Accord or BMW.

The new Mazda 626 seems to do everything well. Its road manners are impeccable. Its ride is that of a full-size car. Its looks are classic—like some of Europe's most refined road cars. Especially now with the subtle new exterior changes. Inside, there's a redesigned instrument cluster plus many new seat and trim refinements. And its mileage is 17% improved.

28 EST. mpg **39** EST. hwy mpg **

If all you want is everything, including value, take a look at the 626 Sport Coupe and Sport Sedan. Also now in Luxury versions. • 2.0 litre overhead cam 4-cylinder engine • Power-assisted front disc brakes • Steel-belted radial tires • 5-speed overdrive transmission (3-speed automatic optional) • AM/FM stereo radio • Split fold-down rear seat backs • Driver's seat with adjustable lumbar support • Remote control trunk release • Front and rear stabilizer bars • Tinted glass • Rear window defroster • Reminder chime for headlights left on • Intermittent-action windshield wipers • Electric quartz clock

**EPA estimates for comparison purposes for standard 626's. The mileage you get may vary with trip length, speed and weather. The actual highway mileage will probably be less.

mazda

The more you look, the more you like.

626 Sport Sedan
$6495*

New York. During the campaign, Republican Alfonse D'Amato, 43, talked so much about the people of the "forgotten middle class" that it did not seem possible that they would ever be forgotten again. And they remembered Al. A virtual political unknown, who served as presiding supervisor of Hempstead Township on Long Island, D'Amato was given a slim chance indeed of winning a seat in the U.S. Senate. Moreover, he was an avowed conservative with the backing of the state Right to Life Party and aiming for a post that usually goes to a liberal. But he managed to eke out an apparent victory over Brooklyn Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, 39, with a bare margin of one percentage point; in third place, with 11% of the vote, was the Liberal Party candidate, Republican Jacob Javits, 76, who had held the seat for nearly 24 years before losing to D'Amato in the G.O.P. primary.

Javits' refusal to drop out of the race undoubtedly contributed to Holtzman's defeat. The earnest, rather humorless Democrat saw her initial lead slip away as she came under attack for consistently voting against defense appropriations. As emotional as Holtzman was restrained, D'Amato denounced the high taxes, declining services and accelerating crime that afflict New Yorkers. While losing some liberal support to Javits, Holtzman did not have sufficient appeal for the center; D'Amato moved in on that prized territory and apparently won, though Holtzman promised that there would be a recount.

South Dakota. In his past campaigns in his home state, George McGovern, 58, always started out behind but managed to win on Election Day. That did not happen this time. His personal popularity and adroit political balancing act—liberal on national issues but attentive to his conservative constituents' needs back home—finally failed him, and he lost to Republican four-term Congressman James Abdnor, 57, by 58% to 39%. Said McGovern Aide Lynn Stoterau: "We were relying on the old McGovern magic and charisma, but we couldn't pull it out."

McGovern was also up against several national right-wing groups. At first, a sympathetic backlash for him seemed to be developing among voters who resented the involvement of out-of-staters in the Senate race. But the movement faded when Abdnor emphatically distanced himself from the conservatives' attacks.

Abdnor, a backslapping, elbow-grabbing wheat farmer, staked out more conservative positions than McGovern on almost every issue: abortion, federal spending, defense and Government regulation. Charging that McGovern had lost touch with the state, Abdnor observed, "Clearly, one of us has got to be wrong." The voters decided that it was McGovern, who, for all his talents, was too liberal for them. ■

The House Is Not a Home

Republicans make gains, but the Democrats still rule the roost

Even in years of presidential landslides, members of the House of Representatives who run for re-election usually win. Their success rate is more than 90%, compared with the more hazardous 68% success rate of their Senate colleagues. This year the powers of incumbency were sorely strained by the surprising Reagan-slide, the Abscam bribery scandal and the harrowing problems of inflation. The Democrats, nevertheless, hung on to control. Although at least 26 incumbent Democrats were defeated, and the Republicans had a net gain of 32 seats, the final breakdown of the 97th Congress will be about 245 Democrats and 190 Republicans.

The fallen Democrats included several of the chamber's most powerful leaders and esteemed veterans, who fell partly because Ronald Reagan proved to have unexpectedly broad coattails, and partly because so many voters were in such a throw-out-the-Administration frame of mind that they did not hesitate to extend their anti-Carter ire to Democratic Congressmen. Lamented House Speaker Tip O'Neill: "It was a broad brush they tarred us with."

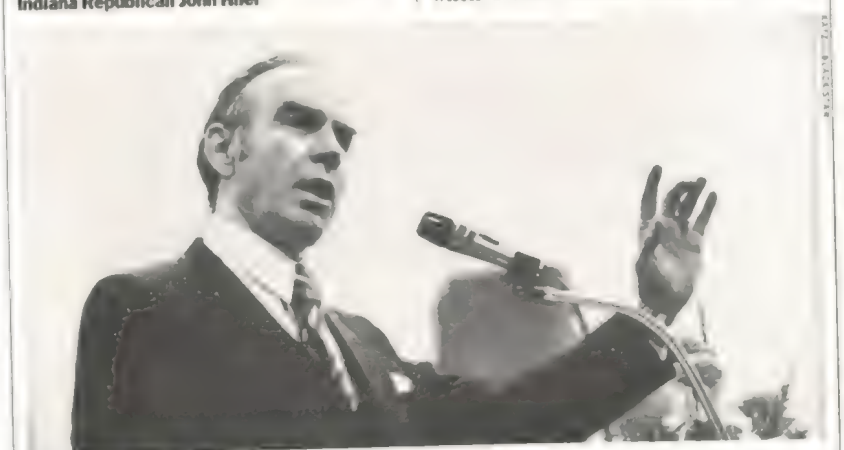
Indiana Republican John Hiler

The Republican leaders were elated by their gains. Said Michigan's Guy Vander Jagt, who as chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee was partly responsible for the G.O.P. House election strategy: "It's the most crushing rejection of a President and his party in Congress since Herbert Hoover. Democratic leaders who managed to survive had the bejesus scared out of them."

The Democrats' tattered majority will be a meager bulwark against a Republican Administration and a Republican-controlled Senate that probably will be intent on dismantling major elements of the social legislation passed during the Democrats' nearly half-century of dominance in both the House and Senate. In addition, the Democratic majority has turned more conservative. Most of the Republican newcomers are on their party's right wing, and most of the Democrats who survived did so only by shifting during the campaign away from the Big Government liberalism that was clearly in disfavor on Election Day. Indeed O'Neill could become a classic political anachronism—the liberal Speaker of the House, crying the old progressive song in a Capitol wilderness of conservatives.

Fall of the Mighty. Until this year, the House leaders on both sides of the aisle have had an unspoken agreement that they would not try to unseat each other. But this summer Vander Jagt met with other Republicans and decided to break with tradition by mounting stiff challenges to high-ranking Democrats. It worked.

Tip O'Neill survived with only token opposition. But Majority Leader Jim Wright, who has spent 25 years in Congress and aspires to succeed the Speaker when O'Neill retires, barely beat back a



Democratic House Leader Jim Wright stumping in Fort Worth

stern challenge in Fort Worth from conservative Republican Jim Bradshaw, who was strongly backed by some wealthy oilmen. But the third man in the Democratic hierarchy, Whip John Brademas, 53, of Indiana, lost his bid for a twelfth term to Businessman John Hiler. The attractive, young (27), conservative Hiler convinced the voters of his district, which includes South Bend, that Brademas, because of his leadership position, had to share the blame for the sorry state of the economy. Said Hiler: "I am the point man of the effort to change the direction of the country."

The chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee is so powerful that the last man who held it, Wilbur Mills, was able to jump into the Washington Tidal Basin with Stripper Fanne Foxe and still win re-election. But his successor, Al Ullman of Oregon, did something even worse in the eyes of many constituents: he proposed a national value-added tax, which to many voters in his district sounded suspiciously like the state sales tax that they had repeatedly rejected in referendums. In addition, while Ullman clambered up the rungs of power on Capitol Hill, he visited his home folks too infrequently. Despite his late disavowal of the tax proposal, he was narrowly beaten by Denny Smith, 42, son of a former Oregon Governor and the publisher of 15 newspapers. Ullman plans to demand a recount.

Other House leaders suffered similar fates. Public Works Chairman Harold ("Bizz") Johnson, 72, was defeated after eleven terms by California Assemblyman Eugene Chappie of Sacramento. Jim Corman, head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, was defeated by Bobbi Fiedler, whose chief issue was opposition to court-ordered busing to desegregate schools in Los Angeles County. Ohio's Thomas ("Lud") Ashley, who as chairman of an *ad hoc* energy committee guided much of President Carter's energy program into law, was upset by Attorney Ed Weber of Toledo. But liberal Warhorse Morris Udall, 58, recently stricken by Parkinson's disease, beat back a strong challenge from a conservative real estate millionaire, Richard Huff, 54, in Arizona.

Abscamed into Obscurity. The only fate worse than being a Democratic leader was being filmed by FBI undercover agents while dealing with fictitious sheiks. The two Democrats convicted in the scandal, Michael ("Ozzie") Myers of Pennsylvania and John Jenrette of South Carolina, as well as two awaiting trial, Frank Thompson of New Jersey and Merchant Marine Committee Chairman John Murphy of New York, were defeated. The sole survivor among those indicted: Raymond Lederer of Pennsylvania, whose trial is scheduled for December.

Arizona Democrat Morris Udall

Massachusetts Democrat Barney Frank

A Woman's Place. All 15 women incumbents who sought re-election were victorious, and at least four were added to their ranks, meaning that there will be a record number of women in the next House, though their representation in the 435-member body is still meager. The new women Representatives, like Fiedler in California, are mainly Republican and conservative. One of them is Lynn Martin, whose budget-cutting assaults as a member of the Illinois legislature earned her a nickname: "the Ax." After criss-crossing her district for 26,000 miles, she won the seat vacated by John Anderson. Former Schoolteacher Marge Roukema knocked off liberal Democrat Andrew Maguire in New Jersey on her second try. And Claudine Schneider, an environmentalist from Narragansett, became the first woman elected to high office in Rhode Island, and the first Republican to go to Congress from there since 1938.

New Faces. Besides the new women, the election brought in a crop of conservative young Republicans who will try to solidify the political shift evidenced so strongly by Reagan's victory. John LeBoutillier, 27, a wealthy Harvard Business School graduate, was considered nothing but an upstart until he defeated eight-term Democrat Lester Wolff, 61, of Long Island. LeBoutillier is the author of two books: *Primary*, a scenario of a Saudi prince who parlays his oil wealth into political power, and *Harvard Hates America*, a collection of essays that take a jaundiced view of the university and liberalism.

Quintessential Southern Gentleman Richardson Preyer of North Carolina made way for a new Republican conservative, Eugene Johnson, a self-made millionaire who owns a graphics firm and manages real estate investments in Greensboro. Liberals found some solace in the election of Barney Frank to the Massachusetts seat that Jesuit Priest Robert Drinan is vacating on orders of Pope John Paul II. Among the 19 blacks elected, the most in history, were two new members, including former California Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally.

For the next two years, the country's conservative mood will be reflected in the nominally Democratic House. The ideas that carried Reagan to victory—his tax cut plans, energy proposals, austere budget goals—will find plenty of adherents, certainly enough to sustain any vetoes if not to pass all the new President's initiatives. This month the old House will meet in a lameduck session. But given the size of the Republican mandate, House leaders will postpone anything more ambitious than tidying up the current budget until the 97th Congress convenes in January. ■

Republican Lynn Martin campaigning in Rockford for John Anderson's job

Once every ten years a car like this comes along.

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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.
Lights: 11
100's: 12 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec '79

Moving into Stately Mansions

The G.O.P. grabs itself four Guvs

The Reagan quake that rocked the nation did not stop at the White House and halls of Congress. As the chandeliers swung, Democrats tumbled out of four Governors' mansions too. Of the 13 Governors' races, ten involved states held by Democrats. By winning seven of the 13, the Republicans slashed the Democratic gubernatorial edge from 31 to 19, to 27 to 23. As expected, the two Republican incumbents—Delaware's Pierre S. Du Pont IV and Vermont's Richard Snelling—coasted to victory, while Indiana's Lieutenant Governor Robert Orr succeeded his retiring G.O.P. predecessor, Otis Bowen. There was a mild upset in North Dakota, where Republican State Attorney General Allen Olson edged out the incumbent, Democrat Arthur Link. Democratic Governors won re-election in North Carolina, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Utah. In Montana, Democratic Lieutenant Governor Ted Schwinden won the top job after upsetting Governor Thomas Judge in the primary. It may be days before the outcome is known in Puerto Rico, where Statehood Advocate and incumbent Governor Carlos Romero Barceló finished in a virtual dead heat with former Governor Rafael Hernández Colón, who favors keeping the island's commonwealth status.

Four of the most intriguing races:

Missouri. Republican Christopher ("Kit") Bond, 41, was a rising star of the G.O.P. until he was unexpectedly defeated for a second term as Governor by Democrat Joseph Teasdale in 1976. Now Bond is shining once again after beating Teasdale, 53% to 47%. As he did in 1976, Teasdale depicted himself as an advocate of the common man and hit hard at Bond's patrician upbringing (Deerfield–Princeton–University of Virginia).

Bond parried the attacks by stumping vigorously across the state, jacket off and tie loosened. He ripped Teasdale as an incompetent administrator who appointed cronies to government jobs and had never delivered on his promise to lower electric utility rates. Said Bond: "I'm not going to make a lot of promises, because I can't outpromise the Great Promiser."

West Virginia. Ever since his election as Governor in 1976, Democrat John D. ("Jay") Rockefeller IV, 43, has been believed to nourish hopes of entering the national political arena—but only after winning a second term as Governor. He easily defeated his Republican opponent, scrappy former Governor Arch Moore, 57, but at an eyebrow-raising cost: Rockefeller spent an estimated $9.5 million, all but $200,000 of it from his personal funds. When a final accounting is made, he may beat the gubernatorial record of $10 million spent by his Uncle Nelson in New York in 1966.

Rockefeller's spending became the main issue of the campaign. Moore, whose expenses totaled $814,000, denounced his opponent for "trying to buy the election," but Rockefeller deflected the criticism by arguing that his inherited wealth insulated him from pressure by special-interest groups. Moore belittled Rockefeller's claim that he wielded clout in Washington in developing a national coal policy favorable to the state. Rockefeller, however, took credit for West Virginia's increased coal production (up to 112 million tons in 1979, the highest level since 1973). He now has his second term—and possibly a platform from which to launch a national career.

Washington. Ever since he lost to Democrat Dixy Lee Ray in 1976, King County Executive John Spellman, 53, anticipated with relish another battle with the crusty lady this year. Instead the Republican faced—and defeated—Seattle State Senator James McDermott, 43, who had trounced Ray in the Democratic primary. The two men clashed on nearly every issue: McDermott opposed an oil pipeline under Puget Sound and favored restricting log exports so that the wood could be processed within the state, thereby creating additional jobs; Spellman backed the pipeline and supported the exports. McDermott, a psychiatrist by profession, admitted that projected budget deficits over the next two years (up to $1 billion) might trigger higher taxes, while Spellman pledged a balanced budget. During one debate, Spellman brandished a waffle to illustrate his charge that McDermott vacillated on the issues. Outspending his rival $1.2 million to $600,000, Spellman asked in a newspaper ad: "Do you want a liberal psychiatrist as your Governor?" Washingtonians answered no, 56% to 44%.

Missouri's Governor-elect Kit Bond

Arkansas. When he was first elected in 1978, Democrat William Clinton, 34, became the nation's youngest Governor—and one of his party's most promising newcomers. But in the biggest upset of the gubernatorial elections, Clinton lost by a margin of 4% to Republican Frank D. White, 47, president of a Little Rock savings and loan association. An Annapolis graduate and a onetime Democrat, White was director of the state's industrial development commission in 1975 and 1976, his only government experience.

White hammered hard at Clinton for raising gasoline taxes and automobile registration fees. A budget-paring conservative, he promised to cut back the fees and reduce the number of state employees. White also attacked Clinton for the White House decision to house Cuban refugees at Fort Chaffee, Ark., last spring, though Clinton himself berated the Administration for its handling of the influx. What nudged White over the top, however, was the vote-pulling strength of Reagan. In a deeply Democratic state, he battled Jimmy Carter to a draw. ■

West Virginia's Jay Rockefeller, who won a second term after spending $9.5 million

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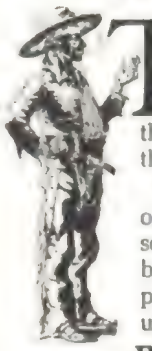

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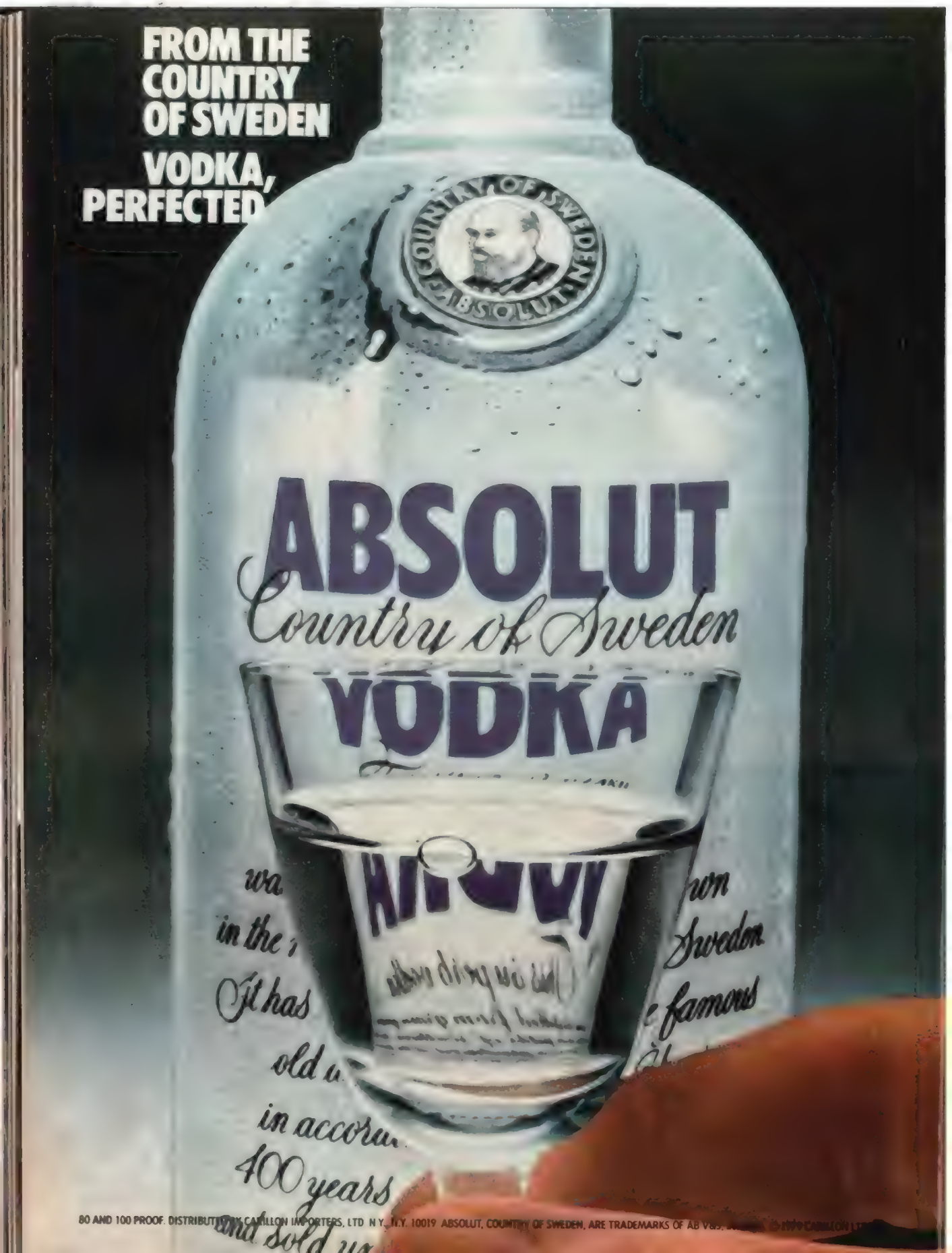
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Referendums: Rising Impatience

Citizens sound off on taxes, pols and nukes

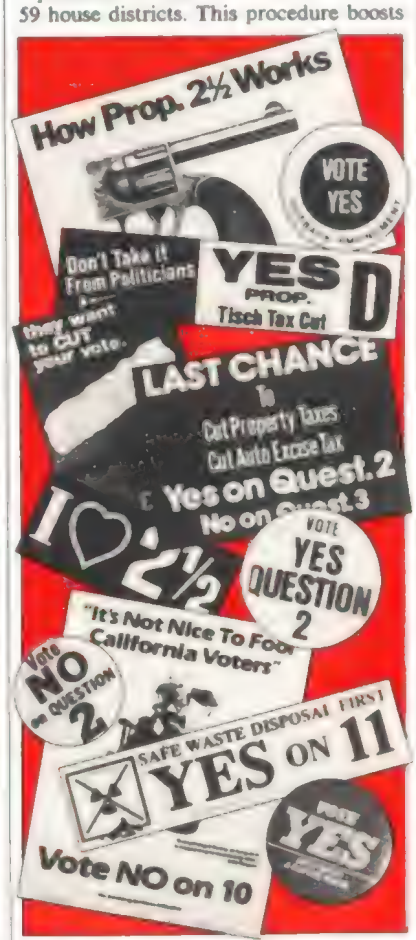
Not since the 1930s, when the Depression brought a spate of voter initiatives to the ballot, have citizens themselves proposed so many new laws—and limits—for government. David Schmidt, editor of *Initiative News Report*, describes it accurately as "a new national trend to lawmaking at the ballot box." In 18 states and the District of Columbia, voters put on the ballot a total of 42 referendums. Their actions ranged from a nonbinding vote by five southern New Jersey counties to secede from the state to a decision by residents of Washington, D.C., to take a first step toward statehood by calling for a Constitutional Convention; from the lifting of an eight-year ban on hunting mourning doves in South Dakota to the approval of bingo playing in Texas. Many of the initiatives reflected an impatience with politicians and an eagerness by the electorate to take matters into their own hands. Some of the most significant:

Taxes: Sons of Proposition 13. Ever since Californians voted to slash property taxes by 57% two years ago, Proposition 13 fever has been spreading across the country. This week tax-cutting measures appeared on ten state ballots. The tax revolt hit hardest in Massachusetts, a state that has long been dubbed Taxachusetts because of its high levies, including a property tax 70% higher than the national average. Bay Staters voted drastic relief in the form of Proposition 2½, which will limit a homeowner's property tax to 2.5% of the full market value, reduce the motor vehicle excise tax by 62% and allow renters to deduct 50% of their annual rent from state income tax. State employees, teachers and labor leaders maintained that "2½" would force the average municipality to cut its budget by 40%, thus crippling public education as well as police and fire protection. The majority of homeowners evidently were swayed by arguments that the cuts could come from bureaucratic fat. Unlike California in its Proposition 13 days, however, Massachusetts lacks a budget surplus to cushion the blow, estimated at a $600 million loss in state revenues for the first year.

In Michigan, voters turned down a similar proposal that would have rolled back property assessments to 1978 levels, then cut taxes in half. The Tisch amendment, named after the Shiawassee County drain commissioner who drew up the proposal, at first had broad support led by homeowners and real estate developers, who believed that a revitalized economy would make up for the lost tax revenues. But Governor William Milliken, who had already cut more than $100 million from the budget this year, estimated that the amendment would cost the state an annual $2 billion. Michigan, Milliken said, would have to fire 24,000 state workers, close 84 state parks and 180 campgrounds, eliminate 7,000 beds for state mental patients, end financial aid to twelve of its 15 state colleges and universities and dismiss 75% of the state police force. His statistics were persuasive.

Other tax-cutting proposals patterned after Proposition 13 were defeated in Nevada, Arizona, Oregon, Utah and South Dakota. Ohio voters, however, endorsed new methods of computing property taxes on homes and farms that allow for inflation, and Missouri voters approved an amendment to tie all state tax increases to the federal Consumer Price Index.

Government: A House Diminished. Voters in Illinois decided to get some government off their backs by reducing the size of the state legislature by one-third. Illinois has a unique system in which three representatives are elected from each of 59 house districts. This procedure boosts minority party candidates but also gives Illinois one of the largest state legislatures: 177 members, compared with 80 in California. Supporters of the cut argued that the house is unnecessarily cumbersome and costly; opponents, who predictably included legislators, labor leaders and lobbyists, said that cutting back representation would eliminate some of the best lawmakers and minority party representatives. Noted one opponent: "This is surgery with a butcher knife."



Bilingualism: No to Spanish. In 1973, in recognition of its large Hispanic population, Dade County, Fla., officially became bilingual, with Spanish as the second language. Voters this week passed a law that would make it illegal to spend county funds for the use of any language other than English, effectively nullifying the 1973 resolution. Emmy Schaffer, a survivor of a World War II German concentration camp, spearheaded the initiative by organizing a band of housewives with the slogan: "In America, English first." The movement gained momentum among whites after the summer's Miami riots and huge influx of Cuban refugees. Stung by the backlash, one Hispanic spokesman called the law "the most destructive thing that has ever happened to this community." Its impact, however, will mainly be on county road signs, tourist brochures and public notices. Bilingual education programs will not be affected.

Nukes: Benefit of the Doubt. The fallout from Three Mile Island was felt in five states, where voters pondered whether to limit nuclear power. In Missouri, citizens decided to give nukes the benefit of the doubt, turning down an initiative that would have prohibited the operation of any nuclear power stations until federally approved permanent storage sites for nuclear wastes were also available. The strongest opponent of the measure was Union Electric Co. of St. Louis, whose $1.3 billion plant, scheduled for completion in early 1983, would have been jeopardized. Said Sandy Rothschild, a house builder and opponent of the proposal: "I think people are not willing, with the information available, to close the option on nuclear power."

Smoking: Yes in California. A last-minute advertising blitz snuffed out a proposal to limit smoking in restaurants, stores and other public places. Smokers who violated no-smoking sanctuaries would have had to cough up a $15 fine. The measure was supported by Chemist Linus Pauling, Photographer Ansel Adams and other notable nonsmokers. The tobacco industry led a $2.3 million counterattack with ads suggesting that the measure heralded the arrival of Big Brother, would work hardships on small businessmen who could not afford to construct no-smoking areas, and would waste the time of law enforcement officials. ■

Iran's Prime Minister Raja'i addresses anti-U.S. rally on the anniversary of the embassy seizure in Tehran

HOSTAGES

Hoping for a Homecoming

New movement in the hostage crisis, but no breakthrough yet

Two short, unshaven young men in blue jeans and olive-drab flak jackets walked up to the door of Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini's modest house in the Tehran suburb of Jamaran. They were immediately ushered inside. The two visitors had been mere university freshmen until a year ago. On Nov. 4, 1979, they joined an estimated 500 other militants in seizing and occupying the U.S. embassy. Now, while their comrades downtown were preparing to celebrate the first anniversary of the siege, the two young men were reporting to Khomeini to elicit his "guidance" about the vote by the Majlis, or Iranian parliament, setting conditions for the release of the hostages.

After almost three hours, Khomeini, accompanied by his son Ahmed, emerged and went next door to a half-completed mosque, where he frequently holds court in a cushioned, blue-draped chair on a balcony. Other students were already gathered there, segregated by sex, according to strict Islamic tradition. They welcomed their leader by chanting *"Allahu Akbar"* (God is great) and holding aloft Khomeini portraits. One of the militants stepped forward and read a prepared text. The Majlis decision, it declared, "does not mean the end of the conflict with America. As our Imam has said, we shall fight against world-devouring America until we die."

But then, couched in the familiar rhetoric of revolution, came the declaration that many in the U.S. had been waiting and hoping for: the militants would turn the hostages over to the Iranian government. The students said they wanted to march off to the battlefront and help defend Iran against "America's puppet," Iraq. Said the militants' spokesman: "If the great leader of the revolution grants us permission, we will from now on delegate the responsibility for the safeguarding [of the hostages] to the government and will engage in the most important current issue of the revolution, defense of the Islamic homeland." For his part, Khomeini lavished praise on the militants, saying that by "seizing and holding these corrupt individuals, you have destroyed the myth of U.S. invincibility. I don't have the words to thank you. May God reward you for your service." But during his private meeting with the two militants earlier, Khomeini had formally endorsed the transfer: "It is a correct move to delegate the issue to the government."

That order, followed by the ritual on the mosque balcony, made possible the first step in the hostages' long, still treacherous journey home. Iran demanded a quick U.S. reply to the conditions set by the Majlis. Administration experts,

Hostages' relatives at ceremony in Pennsylvania marking day 367

The White House had hope and a message: "Let's not give up now."

however, were not about to speed up their painstaking consideration of the Iranian demands. Secretary of State Edmund Muskie warned that "the process . . . will require time, patience and diplomacy."

In Tehran on Tuesday, the Iranian government's acceptance of responsibility for the captives was underscored by Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Raja'i when he addressed a huge anti-American rally at the embassy. Tens of thousands of marchers shouted, "Death to American imperialism!" Raja'i delivered a fiery speech from a podium set up inside the embassy compound, proclaiming the hostage progress a victory for Iran. As viewed from Washington, it was encouraging that a government official was welcomed onto the militants' heavily guarded turf. Ever since the seizure of the embassy, U.S. officials monitoring the crisis had been worried that the final, perhaps insurmountable obstacle to a settlement might be the refusal of the militants to obey the Iranian government and perhaps even Khomeini himself. There was also concern that Communists involved in the siege, perhaps including Soviet agents, would block any solution in order to weaken the Islamic regime and pave the way for a leftist takeover of Iran.

But that danger had apparently diminished as the waiting game dragged on. The Khomeini loyalists who led the original attack systematically purged what they considered "non-Islamic" and "impure" elements from their midst. As a result, Khomeini could count this week on the discipline and obedience of the embassy captors.

The Muslim fundamentalists staunchly loyal to Khomeini seemed also to have consolidated their position in the Majlis and the executive branch of the government. Before Iraq launched its war against Iran on Sept. 22, the ruling mullahs had been vulnerable to charges from the left that any compromise with the U.S. would be inconsistent with the "anti-imperialist struggle." But the war gave Khomeini and his followers a valuable pretext: to stress instead the immediate threat of Iraq and to bill American concessions as a "defeat for the Great Satan." The clergy-controlled press and broadcasting have been harping on these two themes ever since it became apparent that a deal was possible.

The principal beneficiary has been Prime Minister Raja'i, a devout Muslim and dedicated Khomeini follower. His more secular, more moderate rival, President Abolhassan Banisadr, seems increasingly isolated. It was to Raja'i, not Banisadr, that President Carter addressed the first official U.S. response to the Majlis vote. And it was Raja'i who, in his fire-and-brimstone speech at the embassy compound, demanded that the U.S. publicly and promptly accept the conditions of the Majlis.

Those conditions had originally been laid down by Khomeini on Sept. 12. They were: 1) a pledge by the U.S. not to interfere in Iranian affairs; 2) the return of the fortune of the late Shah and his close relatives; 3) the unfreezing of Iranian assets held by U.S. banks; and 4) the cancellation of U.S. legal and financial claims against Iran. The Carter Administration had already agreed in principle to try to meet those demands, but the Majlis added a hitch: the captives would be released in stages as each condition was met.

Khomeini authorizes transfer of hostages to government

"You have destroyed the myth of U.S. invincibility."

Muskie repeated the longstanding U.S. insistence that all the Americans be freed together. Sunday night Carter delivered a carefully prepared statement of his own in a televised address to the nation. He called the Majlis vote "a significant development" and said the four conditions "appear to offer a positive basis" for resolving the crisis. While cautiously hopeful, he was clearly signaling that more negotiations would be necessary, and he avoided altogether the question of whether the U.S. would tolerate a phased release or stick by its all-or-nothing position. Nor did he encourage hopes for a speedy resolution. "I wish I could predict when the hostages will return," he concluded. "I cannot." On Monday the White House counsel, Lloyd Cutler, hinted that there was room for negotiations. Said Cutler in a televised interview: "There's a lot of rubber in this particular rubber band. Let's not give up now."

The very act of negotiating with Iran has been one of the many maddeningly difficult aspects of this crisis. From the first day of the embassy seizure, the U.S. has had almost no direct official contact with Iran. The compromise that finally led to Sunday's Majlis vote evolved in part through the intermediation of third parties, notably Switzerland, which handles U.S. diplomatic interests in Tehran, and Algeria, which represents Iran in Washington.

Another, somewhat improbable catalyst, TIME has learned, was Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Arafat has been grateful to Khomeini for overthrowing the Shah, who once supplied oil to Israel, for turning the former Israeli mission in Tehran over to the P.L.O. and for supporting the P.L.O. cause. Arafat did not want to see Iran defeated in its war with Iraq. During a visit to Tehran, Arafat could not even get in to see Khomeini. Instead the P.L.O. chairman was received by President Banisadr and Prime Minister Raja'i. Arafat suggested pressuring the U.S. to unlock shipments of Iranian-purchased military equipment in exchange for the hostages' release. Banisadr and Raja'i authorized the P.L.O. chief to explore the plan as long as he could do so secretly.

Arafat then flew to Damascus for talks with Syrian President Hafez Assad, who is backing Iran against Iraq. Assad concurred with Arafat's assessment that the U.S.-Iranian dispute had to end quickly. Otherwise, Iraq would win the war decisively and emerge as a threat to the whole region. Arafat suggested to Assad that Algeria be a key intermediary between the U.S. and Iran. Algeria is a staunch member of the Steadfastness Front of Arab states opposed to the Camp David peace process, but the Algerian government has nonetheless been quietly cultivating a rapprochement with Washington. Assad endorsed the plan. Arafat and his senior political adviser, Hani al Hassan, a former P.L.O. envoy in Tehran, promptly flew on to Algiers. The Algerians consented to step up their mediating.

In New York, meanwhile, during his visit to the United Nations, Prime Minister Raja'i refused to meet with Carter. However, on his way home Raja'i stopped

off in Algeria, ostensibly to view the devastation of its recent earthquake but actually to discuss the U.S. position with the Algerian leaders. In recent weeks, Algeria's Ambassador to Washington, Redha Malek, has been telling visitors that the hostage problem has kept him busy "day and night." In the end, the U.S. indicated it would resume shipment of about $100 million worth of "nonlethal" spare parts—but no weapons or ammunition—once the hostages are released.

At McGuire Air Force Base near Trenton, N.J., troops are standing guard over plastic-covered cargo pallets containing some of the gear bought by Iran: eight armor-plated Jeeps, a helicopter broken down into parts, copper-mining equipment, wiring and boxes of electronic equipment. In all, the matériel at McGuire weighs about 100 tons, and it would take three C-141 transports to haul it to Tehran once the U.S. Government gives the go-ahead. The Air Force insists that there are no munitions in the shipment.

Scattered around the country, however, at other military bases or in factory warehouses, are bombs, bullets, artillery shells, antitank missiles and spare parts for F-4, F-5 and F-14 fighters—also bought and paid for by Iran during the Shah's rule. The Khomeini regime wants these very lethal supplies released too, but so far it has not insisted on their immediate delivery as part of the hostage deal.

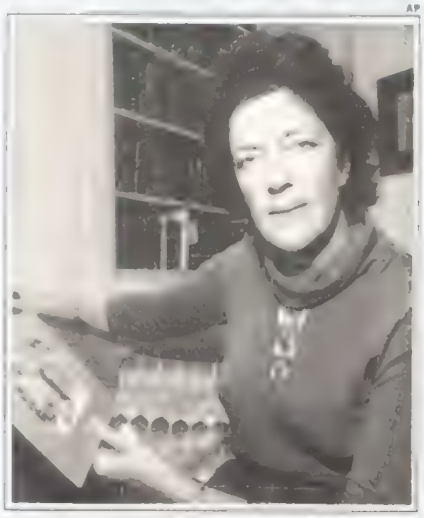
The Iranian armed forces needed fresh supplies more than ever last week, as the Iraqis tightened their strangle hold on the oil-refining city of Abadan. In an address to the National Assembly in Baghdad, Iraqi Strongman Saddam Hussein declared that he was prepared to withdraw his invading forces from Iranian territory "as of tomorrow" if Tehran recognized Iraq's right to control the contested Shatt al Arab waterway. Although that appeared to be a scaling-down of Iraq's original demands, it seemed unlikely that the fired-up Iranians would accept, at least immediately. One reason was that Iraq held captive a prominent prisoner of war: Iranian Oil Minister Mohammed Javad Tondguyan. Tondguyan and five of his aides tried to sneak through the Iraqi lines in order to inspect the damage to a huge refinery and bolster the morale of besieged Abadan. But he and his colleagues were captured and bundled off to Baghdad. Iran called on Iraq to release the captured minister and his aides in accordance with "all international codes and regulations."

Even the Iraqis, who have done nothing to help resolve the U.S. hostage crisis, were incredulous. Baghdad radio quoted one Iraqi minister as saying, "Who are the Iranians to talk about violations of international law? They should look first to what they have done at the U.S. embassy in Tehran." *—By Strobe Talbott. Reported by William Stewart/Beirut*

The Families: New Anxieties

"This has been—this is—an ordeal. Even after it's over we'll carry the worry, the fatigue and the stress inside us. But we've learned a great deal. We've learned fortitude and patience." Thus Louisa Kennedy, a spokeswoman for the families of the 52 American hostages, summed up their emotions this week as their yearlong ordeal seemed to be approaching an end. "I look calm and controlled, but inside I'm a wreck," said Kennedy, who is the wife of Hostage Moorhead Kennedy and a founder of the Family Liaison Action Group (FLAG)in Washington, which has served as a clearing house, policy board and lobbyist on behalf of the hostages' families.

Most of the families have tried to keep their hopes from rising too high. "It looks a little more encouraging, but we've been through this drill before," said Eugene Lauterbach of Dayton, the father of Hostage Steven Lauterbach. "From where I stand, this could still fall apart again." While the rest of the country concentrated on Election Night coverage on TV, the hostages' families were mainly attuned to the ring of phone calls from Washington. Since the Iranian parliament announced its conditions for the hostages' release on Nov. 2, FLAG members and volunteers have been helping keep the families apprised of the progress of negotiations with Tehran. The families, except for 15 who live in the Washington area, are scattered throughout 40 states. "For most," said Kennedy, "the isolation is devastating."



Louisa Kennedy holding her husband's picture

FLAG is based in the huge private conference room of Secretary of State Edmund Muskie (who occasionally stops in to see how things are going). On the 30-ft. walnut table is a bank of telephones; in cardboard boxes on the floor are stacks of mail for the hostages, of which the organization receives up to 300 pieces a week. FLAG acts as a buffer between the families and sometimes overzealous newsmen, and has successfully lobbied for passage of the Hostage Relief Act, which will provide for educational and medical benefits and tax relief for the hostages. More recently it has taken a direct hand in efforts to break the diplomatic deadlock over the hostages. When Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Ali Raja'i flew to New York City to address the United Nations last month, FLAG President Katherine Keough was the only American to meet with him at his Fifth Avenue residence. A high-ranking State Department official termed the meeting "a major diplomatic move."

Now that the release may be imminent, FLAG is urging the families to write letters that would await the hostages in Wiesbaden, West Germany, helping them in their transition to freedom by bringing them up to date on family news and activities during the past year. In addition, looking ahead to the time when the hostages return to the U.S., the organization has persuaded the State Department to allow the families a private reunion before staging an official public greeting in Washington. One FLAG member has noticed a distinct change this week in the kind of anxiety felt by the families: "It has changed from the fear of never seeing him again to 'How do I meet this person? What will he be like? What will he think of what I've done here? Will he look at my news clippings and be proud of me, or disapproving?' "

The anger and frustration that have built up toward Tehran—and to some extent toward Washington—may dissipate once the hostages are home, but other problems will remain. "Don't forget," said Kennedy, "there are two sets of hostages involved here: those who've been inside and those outside. There will be a lot of traumas when the two groups are brought together." With that in mind, FLAG has no intention of disbanding. It plans to relocate in private offices in Washington and remain in existence indefinitely, coordinating and counseling the families as they work their way through a difficult period of readjustment.

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Smoothing the Way

Medics and debriefers are also waiting anxiously

With its 20 white concrete buildings, 235 beds and 844 staff members, the U.S. Air Force hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany, is the biggest and best-equipped American military medical facility in Europe. While it is prepared for anything from hangnails to heart surgery, the hospital expects to be confronted soon with an unusually delicate task: receiving and caring for the 52 American hostages during their first critical days of freedom. "Officially, we don't even know they're coming here," says a senior member of the hospital staff. "Unofficially, we've been ready to process and treat these people since last November."

At Rhein-Main air base 25 miles away, two white C-9A Nightingale hospital planes are on 24-hour stand-by to fly to any European or North African destination to pick up the precious passengers. By every means that can be foreseen, from both a medical and psychological point of view, the way is being smoothed for the hostages' arrival. Says a State Department official involved in planning for the hostages' reception: "The first hours, even the first two days, are a very delicate time. They should be free of any pressures. They need to take a deep, long breath."

Preliminary medical examinations will probably be carried out aboard the C-9As en route to Wiesbaden. After arrival at the hospital, those who do not need immediate attention will be given complete physicals, undergoing tests for, as the hospital puts it, "everything from tapeworm to tuberculosis." Extensive psychological testing will also take place.

Finally, the hostages will be debriefed on the details of their ordeal—kindly but thoroughly—by a number of intelligence interrogators. The nature of the debriefing will depend on the individual hostages and the circumstances of their release. If all the hostages are released at once, for example, debriefing will have less urgency. If there is only a partial release, the freed hostages will be quickly questioned to determine the condition and location of the remaining captives. The higher-ranking diplomats among the freed hostages will be expected to make their own full analytic reports about their captivity.

Having consulted with a broad spectrum of medical experts, U.S. officials want to postpone family reunions until after the hostages have gone through a "decompression period." Explains one of the psychologists who helped formulate the plan: "A family reunion, as long sought after as it may be, creates certain burdens. An emotional performance is required that the hostages may need some time to work up to." Some hostage families, however, are reportedly planning to fly to Wiesbaden despite official appeals to hold off. The Wiesbaden stopover is expected to take from three days to a week, depending on the hostages' condition. After that they will be flown to Washington to meet with their families, and only then will they be welcomed with what is sure to be an effusive display of official national honors.

Medical experts expect that some of the hostages could suffer from a variety of psychological disturbances as well as psychosomatic disorders triggered by prolonged stress. Says Dr. David Barry, associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry: "Their anger is mobilized, and they have no way to discharge their feelings. This results in anxiety, long-term repressive feelings and psychophysiological conditions such as high blood pressure. The hostages will be irritable, jumpy, and display a short fuse." They may also display everything from memory lapses to lost appetite, insomnia and nightmares. While the severity will vary, the psychological scars are sure to be deep in every case. Says David G. Hubbard, a Dallas psychiatrist: "Some individuals are strengthened in a situation like this, and some are crippled."

One of the biggest question marks is to what degree the propaganda of the Iranian militants may have rubbed off on their captives. When Marine Corporal William Gallegos was interviewed by NBC last December he expressed sympathy for the Iranian revolutionaries; this aroused some suspicions that the hostages may have been subjected to brainwashing, perhaps of the sort employed by the North Koreans against American P.O.W.s, as became evident after Operation Big Switch in 1953, when 3,313 U.S. prisoners were returned. Most experts, however, doubt that the Iranian militants have resorted to systematic brainwashing. What has probably happened, at least with some of the hostages, is a degree of identification with their captors—a temporary reaction often referred to as the "Stockholm syndrome."* Says Stanford University's Donald T. Lunde, a psychiatrist who has treated Kidnap Victim Patty Hearst: "I'd expect the hostages to have some quite positive feelings for their captors for the single reason that these people have been playing a parental role with them and kept them in a dependent state." As a result, says Lunde, "they'll be making anti-Shah, anti-CIA statements in the first couple of weeks." Most experts share Lunde's belief that the Stockholm effects will soon wear off.

Ready for the re-entry: the U.S. Air Force Hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany

"The first hours, even the first two days, are a very delicate time."

The speed and facility with which the hostages succeed in re-entering normal life will depend in large part on the tolerance and understanding they receive from their families and from the American public. The unthinking could all too easily confront them with two opposed dangers: either a hostile reaction to possible pro-Iranian utterances or excessive public adulation. Warns Psychology Professor Murray S. Miron of Syracuse University: "The more we lionize the returning hostages, the more inconsistent their attitude could be about themselves." Hubbard agrees that too much notoriety could aggravate their psychological problems. "These folks need privacy and gentleness. It's like coming out of a dark, dark room into bright light." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Lee Griggs/Wiesbaden and Roberto Suro/Washington*

*After a 1973 Swedish bank robbery in which hostages sought to protect their captors.

At Control Data, TV cameras and an electronic "blackboard" bring together executives 1,500 miles apart for a video conference

Economy & Business

Now the Office of Tomorrow

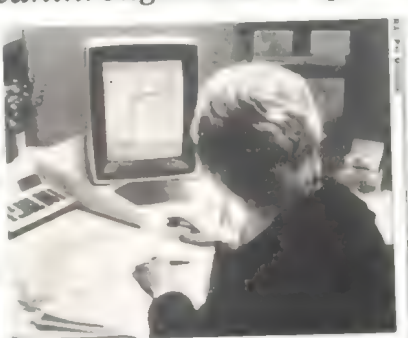
Technology's dazzling breakthroughs shake up the white-collar world

In the international money transfer department of New York's Citibank, 50 people sitting before desktop computer terminals silently tap away at coded keyboards and thereby handle the work that it took 430 people to perform in 1970.

In Minneapolis, executives of the Control Data Corp. hold a televised conference meeting with other company officials in Sunnyvale, Calif. Whenever someone writes on the electronic "blackboard" in Minneapolis, the information automatically appears on a terminal screen in Sunnyvale.

In Stamford, Conn., and Palo Alto, Calif., two secretaries of the Xerox Corp. use electronic mail computers to swap and file memos from their bosses, thereby reducing to a minute's time a chore that previously would have involved typing letters and sending them coast to coast.

Scenes like those, while not yet as commonplace as the coffee break, are rapidly changing life at the office for millions of Americans in businesses of all kinds. A quarter-century after companies first began installing huge data-processing computers to print payrolls and keep track of sales, smaller and much less expensive computer-based equipment is beginning to revolutionize and streamline corporate administration and management. In the process, the people and the machines are vastly improving productivity in one of the least efficient segments of American business: the office.



Machines make charts from raw statistics

An executive works at the terminal of a Prime computer

Some feel that a keyboard does not suit their status.

No aspect of modern corporate life is immune to the onrush of computer technology's latest tools. In Boston, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. has provided word-processing terminals for more than 100 secretaries and other clerical workers. Since January productivity for the employees has jumped by an astonishing 50%.

In Los Angeles, Atlantic Richfield Co. is designing a complete "teleconferencing" network so that key company employees can confer with one another visually by use of satellite hookup and wall-sized projection screens. Starting in 1982, executives in Philadelphia or Dallas will not have to fly to Los Angeles for their regular weekly meeting. Instead they will walk to a room equipped for a teleconference. The system, part of a $20 million company-wide communications effort, is expected to save the company $50 million to $60 million annually in travel costs.

The office of the future is not limited to the corporate giants. In Glendale, Calif., William Fusco, president of Hydraulic Industrial, a small-scale supplier of pipes and valves to local industry (1979 sales: $2 million), has spent $65,000 on a minicomputer sys-

tem that enables his 22 employees to monitor and control every administrative and record-keeping aspect of the business. For example, every time a particular item in stock runs low, the computer is programmed to warn of the decline.

Smaller firms that lack large research departments often use desktop computers to turn a stack of complex statistics into easy-to-read charts. Rosen Research, a Manhattan firm that studies the electronics industry, recently used its Apple II personal computer for such a job. The cost: 40¢ for a graphic illustration, compared with $80 each when prepared by a professional designer.

Office automation is proliferating, in large part, because the costs of "computing power" are dropping dramatically. The calculating capacity of computers costing $1 million in the '50s is today contained in microelectronic circuits costing less than $20. By packing memory and logic functions of actual computers onto pieces of silicon no bigger than a cornflake, electronics engineers and designers have been able to build computer-like intelligence into conventional office equipment. Silicon-chip technology is beginning to spawn such devices as typewriters that can recognize and identify misspellings, copiers that can memorize, store and retrieve documents, and dictation machines that can translate a spoken message into a typed page.

Many companies are even working to hook up their so-called smart machines so that they can communicate with each other. One such arrangement might allow a company executive to dictate a memo into a smart dictating machine that will then distribute it, electronically, to offices around the world. Copiers linked to teleprinters would print and duplicate the memo, route it internally as well as "file" it in the electronic memory banks of field office computers.

Despite some initial grumbling that the new machines would turn them into white-collar automatons, secretaries and clerical people usually welcome the appearance of a word processor or minicomputer console on their desks. Betty Matos, 31, a Citibank clerical worker for close to 13 years, now uses a Digital Equipment Corp. minicomputer in the bank's letters-of-credit department. Says she: "The department used to be chaos. One letter would get handled by four, five or six people. But with the new system, one person handles everything. I had no trouble adjusting. To me it was like a new toy."

The biggest stumbling block to the use of the futuristic equipment is the boss. Says Francis G. ("Buck") Rodgers, IBM's vice president for corporate marketing: "The office has not changed its essential procedures for over 100 years, and particularly the professionals become a bit wary when anyone tries to change what goes on." Managers have been reluctant to use the new machines, especially if they involve a keyboard. Says Phil Roybal, marketing manager of Apple Computer Inc.: "Most managers wouldn't have a typewriter in their office. A lot regard a keyboard as something that doesn't suit their status."

But relief is on the way. Several companies are working on voice-operated terminals so that bosses can transmit information by literally talking to their computers. International Resource Development Inc., a Norwalk, Conn., market research company, predicts that such machines will be available by 1983 and in general use by 1989. Other experts say that executives will soon be able to operate a machine simply by touching it. An executive wishing to see his morning mail might only have to tap a picture of an In basket displayed on his screen. Doing so would tell the computer to print out on the screen whatever morning mail the executive had waiting for him in the computer's memory bank.

The companies designing and producing the high-technology components of the business office of the future are prospering lavishly. Sales are already ap-

The Guru of Gizmos

The premier peddler of the new machines showing up in business offices is neither IBM nor Xerox, but An Wang, 61, a Chinese-born inventor who founded Wang Laboratories in 1951. The Lowell, Mass., company produces state-of-the-art equipment for the office of the future. Wang Laboratories dominates the market for so-called integrated information systems. These are elaborate combinations of computerized word and data processors, high-speed printers, telecommunications hook-ins and video display terminals used by secretaries and their bosses. And such office innovations are likely to continue. Says Wang: "The cost of parts keeps getting lower, and the applications are getting wider."

STEVE HANSEN

Master Word Processor An Wang

The son of a Shanghai English teacher, Wang came to the U.S. in 1945 to earn a Ph.D. in applied physics at Harvard. Three years later, at age 28, he invented the magnetic core, a tiny, doughnut-shaped data storage element that remained the key to computer memory technology for more than 20 years until it was replaced by sophisticated semiconductor equipment in the late 1960s. Wang started his company in a dingy room above an electrical fixtures store on Boston's Columbus Avenue. The firm engineered one-of-a-kind products to fill special customer needs. One result was the first digital scoreboard, built for the opening of New York's Shea Stadium in 1964.

In the same year the company's reputation began to grow when it introduced one of the first desk-top electronic calculators. But eight years later Texas Instruments began selling hand-held machines made with silicon chips and stole the market. Wang then quickly shifted his company's efforts into large-scale office electronics. In 1972 the company entered the word processor market, and soon introduced the television-like screen that nearly all electronic word processing equipment now uses for displaying text. The company at present has 35% of the world market.

Nonstop innovation and a sales force that is among the best in the industry have kept Wang Laboratories expanding rapidly. The company has averaged a 75% annual growth in profits over the past five years, including an 82% increase in the fiscal year that ended June 30. In the quarter that ended Sept. 30, earnings were up 84% over the same period last year.

Further growth, though, will be more difficult. The office-of-the-future market has become so attractive that the computer giants are now aggressively going after it. IBM, for example, last summer introduced its low-priced Displaywriter that will compete with certain Wang products.

Wang, who has been an American citizen since 1955, is now about to start operation in the land of his birth. He is currently completing negotiations with the People's Republic of China on a joint venture to produce small computers in Nanjing. Having heard of Wang's spectacular record, Chinese bureaucrats are already planning on $4 million to $5 million worth of production in the project's first year, and a 60% annual growth rate thereafter.

proaching $30 billion annually and are expected to leap to nearly $100 billion a year by 1990. In addition to such giants as IBM, Xerox and Honeywell, the field is filling up with a host of newcomers. Flush with billions in oil profits, Exxon Corp. has entered the market with its new unit, Exxon Office Systems Co., which is manufacturing and selling a range of desktop word processing devices. The company's QWIP transceiver sends and receives over regular telephone lines facsimile reproductions of charts, graphs, text or just about anything else that can be put on a page.

A number of smaller companies offer equally sophisticated gear and are enjoying growth rates of 30% or more a year. Datapoint Corp., Digital Equipment Corp., Prime Computers, Inc. and Data General Corp. are all leading suppliers of minicomputer designs for small- to medium-sized businesses. Massachusetts' Wang Laboratories is a leading manufacturer of word processors *(see box)*. One new small word processor company based in Boulder, Colo., calls itself NBI, which stands for Nothing But Initials. The hottest new firm of all, Apple (1979 sales: $75 million), is not yet five years old and plans its first public stock offering before year's end.

The office-equipment industry is getting its bounce from American business's rush to cut costs and boost productivity. The most unproductive workers in many companies today are office employees and executives. Between 1972 and 1977, blue-collar productivity grew by more than 2% annually, while white-collar efficiency increased by only .4% a year. In the U.S.'s service-oriented economy, the paper chase of the American office is already tying up 25% of the nation's work force, and by 1990 the figure is projected to rise to 40%. The number of workers entering the labor market will decline during the '80s, and by the end of the decade there will be perhaps a 10% shortage of office employees. Without machines to help them, white-collar workers will not be able to obtain and use all the information needed to run modern companies.

Spending by businesses to modernize the office, however, has so far been extremely low. Each American farmer works with an average of $52,000 worth of such labor-saving machinery as tractors, combines and milking machines. The average American factory worker is supported by about $25,000 in capital investment in everything from computerized assembly lines to forklifts. Office workers, on the other hand, are aided by a paltry $2,000 in capital investment; that often amounts to little more than a telephone, a typewriter and a photocopy machine. Such offices will soon be as antique as those with stand-up desks and quill pens. ***—By Christopher Byron. Reported by Robert Geline and Sue Raffety/New York***

Glut of Steel

A sharp fall in world demand

"The steel crisis exists and is getting worse in every respect—orders, costs, profits." So said Viscount Etienne Davignon, the European Community industrial affairs commissioner. Other leading industrial nations are also feeling the worldwide steel crisis. The U.S. last month reintroduced the trigger price mechanism to protect the domestic industry against cheap imports that were undercutting U.S. prices. American steel output in the first ten months of the year was 22% below the same level of 1979, and the industry has laid off 86,000 steel-production workers, almost one-quarter of its labor force, in the past year. Japanese steel firms have been shutting down facilities, and now one out of three blast furnaces is idle.

The steel industry is tightly tied to the ups and downs of the economy, and generally sluggish growth in most industrial countries has reduced demand. The International Iron and Steel Institute reports that in the first seven months of this year production in 29 industrialized and developing nations was down 5.5%, and is expected to fall even faster for the rest of the year in the industrialized countries.

Moreover, the steel market is suffering from excess capacity. In recent years, developing countries from Saudi Arabia to South Korea have rushed to build their own steel plants, thus cutting imports from the U.S., Japan and Western Europe. Brazil, a traditional importer, has even begun to export raw steel products. While steel production in the industrialized countries is expected to fall by 8.1% during the fourth quarter, it will increase by 7.1% in the developing nations. At the same time, some industrial countries like Italy and West Germany have continued to build new, more efficient plants, even though the international steel market was weak. David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel, estimates that world steelmaking capacity is 60 million to 80 million tons in excess of demand.

The steel glut is worst in Western Europe. Says Common Market Commission President Roy Jenkins: "The steel industry is in a state of manifest crisis." While stockpiles have been climbing, prices have dropped about 10% to 15% since last year. In the past five years the industry has lost an estimated 145,000 jobs. The Europeans have long had a thinly veiled cartel arrangement that included voluntary quotas on steel production. But when the market went into a free-fall slump early this year, the agreement fell apart, and many companies began scrambling to undercut their competitors. Firms were often selling steel for much less than it cost to produce. Last month the Common Market threatened to impose mandatory production cutbacks in order to stop the steel free-for-all.

Any quota system would fall hardest on West Germany, which has invested more than $1 billion annually since the 1950s on new steel facilities and is Europe's most efficient producer. Says West German Economics Minister Count Otto Lambsdorff: "Our industry must not be penalized for having been in the forefront of modernization." But after weeks of bitter wrangling, the Europeans overcame West German objections and last week agreed to an unprecedented Common Market quota system that will reduce overall production by an average of 13% to 18% for nine months. The West Germans bluntly doubt that the plan will work and expect price cutting to continue. Said Lambsdorff: "Such a system can only last a limited time, and then it will break down." Until the international economy picks up in perhaps 18 months, steelmakers are likely to continue facing a sales slump and stiff competition. ■

Tapping a blast furnace in West Germany, where new quotas are expected to cut production

The steel industry in Western Europe is "in a state of manifest crisis."

J&B. It whispers.
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Inspiring Muse

Cut-rate fares and hot pants

Lamar Muse, 60, the Texan who made upstart Southwest Airlines one of the nation's highest-flying carriers by slashing fares and ballyhooing it as the "love airlines," will soon be back in the air after a two-year grounding. MuseAir will take off next June for seven destinations from San Antonio to Memphis. By 1985 the new airline will fly to 24 cities, including Atlanta and Pittsburgh.

Aggressive promotion and price cutting have long been Muse's trademarks. As Southwest's first president, he started flights in 1971 that gave new meaning to the term friendly skies. The airline billed itself "The Somebody Else Up There Who Loves You." Upon boarding a flight, passengers were greeted by a soft, sexy voice, saying: "Hi. I'm Suzanne. Y'all buckle your seat belts and don't dare get up. We don't want anything happening to you now because we love you." The stewardesses, personally selected by Muse himself, sported tight hot pants and leather go-go boots. In-flight drinks were known as "love potions," and cash registers that issued tickets were "love machines."

Love is in the air

Such pizazz impressed good-ole-boy Texans, who were soon vying for aisle seats where stewardess viewing was best. Southwest flights were also packed because of the low fares. A nighttime or weekend trip from Houston to Dallas was only $13 on Southwest, compared with $26 on competing Braniff and Texas International. Soon the inexpensive and colorful Southwest flights within Texas were as much a part of local tradition as the Alamo, longhorn cattle and the Dallas Cowboys.

In 1978, however, Muse and Southwest had a falling out. Muse wanted to expand by starting up operations at Chicago's Midway Airport, but Southwest's board of directors balked because it considered the strategy too expensive and risky. Muse thereupon quit. But in the past two years he has made plans to raise $32 million for MuseAir, of which he will be chairman. Says he defiantly: "This time I'm not going to get caught between a bunch of knuckleheads who don't know their asses from first base."

MuseAir is another of the cut-rate airlines spawned by deregulation of the industry. Next month, New York Air, a new subsidiary of Texas International, will start providing 18 flights a day along the New York City to Washington, D.C., corridor in direct competition with the busy Eastern Air Lines shuttle. And People Express next year will begin service

Head of the upstart airline

to six cities out of Newark.

Since New York Air had trouble obtaining scarce landing rights at Washington's National Airport, Muse decided to fly his carrier into Tulsa, St. Louis and other less congested Midwestern and Southern cities. Says he: "Our target is where big airlines have cut back, the heartland of Middle America." The new airline will fly fuel-efficient DC-9 Super 80s, and Muse says that he will slash prices by up to 66%. Fares will be low enough to "get people off the interstate highways and onto airplanes." And what about stewardess outfits? A slight smirk ripples through Muse's white mustache as he says: "They won't look like World War II nurses' uniforms." ■

Wags to Riches

Advertising's animal kingdom

Animals like RCA's famous Nipper, an English fox terrier first seen in 1900 listening to His Master's Voice, have long been a favorite advertising come-on. But now a Noah's Ark of furry little friends is barking, growling and clucking to promote products. In the process, the animals are earning stunning salaries. The Ford Motor Co. has just spent $40,000 for the services of two lynxes, one for close-ups and one for jumps, in three commercials for its new Mercury Lynx cars. Grizzly bears regularly command $1,000 a day, and nimble chimpanzees $2,500. Even dogs can turn their wags into riches at a daily rate of $300 to $1,000.

Ad animals have now become a big business. Advertisers issue casting calls to rental agencies like New York City's All-Tame Animals or directly to trainers who maintain their own menageries. Ford leased its leaping lynx from Lloyd Beebe, the owner of Olympic Game Farms in Sequim, Wash. Beebe's 300 or so actors in residence, including elephants, rhinos and wolves, earned $2 million last year from commercials, movies and television shows. His business is growing at about 15% annually.

Advertising executives say that animals often project images that mere humans cannot duplicate: the toughness of Dodge's fighting rams, the reassuring watchfulness of the Hartford Insurance Group's stag or the power of the Schlitz malt liquor bull. Schlitz has spent $30,000 for bulls that storm through the walls of bars to prove their machismo. The theme of the new Mercury campaign is the automaker's battle with foreign competition. In each commercial, the lynx, lured by an unseen pan of beefsteak, leaps atop a huge globe and symbolizes a sleek survivor that will conquer the world. Says Manny Perez, who produced the commercials: "The animal pushes the right emotional buttons in the viewers' minds."

Animals, however, can sometimes be more temperamental than the sexiest starlet. With no fear of being dropped from the cast, furry or feathery actors often fail to perform. The directors of a Minute Maid commercial went through three roosters and 4,000 ft. of film trying to get one second's worth of crowing. Some animals are doggoned prima donnas. Ruth, a shaggy dog star for the Dawn rental agency in New York City, is famous for pushing away her bowl in pet food ads. She makes about $25,000 a year and insists on being the closest to the camera any time she works with other canines. She whines and frets when forced to be with the regular pack of dogs. Morris the cat, who meows for 9-Lives cat food, is too finicky to fly in the baggage hold with other animals. He is always booked in first class.

With animals now so popular on Madison Avenue, the inevitable has happened: they are organizing. California Trainer Ralph Helfer has formed the Animal Guild of America. The union's initial demand is that animals receive residuals, the fees that human actors earn each time their commercials appear on the air. At present they receive only one-time flat fees. If animals are not accorded equal rights, Helfer warns, a beastly nationwide strike may be in the offing. ■

Trainer feeds steak to the Mercury lynx

For nimble chimpanzees, $2,500 a day.

"American Orchestras on Tour"—making music reach out.

Orchestras often tour. But when the tour includes having an orchestra's principal players instruct serious music students, it makes music reach out.

The Bell System American Orchestras on Tour program helps take major American symphony orchestras across the nation. But more than that, the program expands the reach of these great orchestras with musical activities outside the concert hall.

This year, Bell System American Orchestras on Tour will reach 120 cities with over 200 symphony concerts, chamber concerts, and open rehearsals. In addition, 75 master classes will give several thousand music students the opportunity to receive first-hand instruction from principal players of the touring orchestras.

Ever since 1940, when we started sponsoring *The Bell Telephone Hour*, enhancing America's quality of life through support of the arts has been a Bell System tradition. We think it goes hand in hand with enhancing America's quality of life through the world's best communications system.

Bell System

New York Philharmonic principal clarinetist Stanley Drucker conducts a master class for music students in the Elmira, N.Y., area.

A Victual Victory for the U.S.

Turning hots and colds into golds at the Culinary Olympics

While American athletes lament losing a chance at gold medals in the Moscow Olympics, U.S. competitors of different stripes and talents are gloating this week over a bonanza of coveted international awards. In Frankfurt, at the quadrennial Culinary Olympics—officially titled the International Culinary Art Exhibition—a four-man U.S. team for the first time beat out all other entrants in the hot food dish category. In the cold dish department the American squad also earned gold medals. Individual team members won a dozen golds and a silver. Pastry Chef Helmut Loibl from St. Louis was one of only two *cuisiniers* in the contest to win a gold medal "with excellence" and a perfect score from some 25 judges. Lyde Buchtenkirch of Rhinebeck, N.Y., the first woman member of a U.S. team, not only garnered a gold but also won a special award for the best entry in the entire show with a 3-ft.-high bread sculpture (molded dough covered with a brown glaze and baked) called *American Bounty*. The creation depicted cowboys, American Indians, farmers and native grains and vegetables.

Detail of *American Bounty*

The Culinary Olympics, which have been held since 1895, are the World Series of commercial cookery. This year's competition attracted almost 800 top cooks from some 40 countries. Entries —and entrées—were judged not only for deliciousness but also for nutritiousness, economy and skill of preparation. (The French, while masters of no-expense-spared gourmet cooking, have never come in better than third at Frankfurt; they sulked at home this year.) The first U.S. team entered the Olympics in 1956 and got shut out. But in 1968 the Yank chefs were able to cop 16 golds, more than any other national team that year, and in 1976 they won 30 medals, a record high for individual competition. Each team must make 100 plates of its hot and cold dishes, which are sold at a public restaurant. One sign of success is the speed at which they sell out. This year the American dishes went like, well, hot cakes.

Each national team had to prepare its hot dishes in cramped portable kitchens; a measure of their effort, closely noted by the judges, is that the cooks do not bump into one another or bruise sensitive egos. The U.S. chefs are chosen on the basis of their recipes and expertise by the American Culinary Federation, backed by Kraft Inc.

Each team produces representative national dishes. The runners-up this year were Australia (smoked lamb in eucalyptus leaves, sautéed shrimp on fish patties in hollandaise sauce) and South Korea (rolled beef, stuffed duck with apple rings and chestnuts). The Americans produced sea bass stuffed with crabmeat and fried in batter; also, turkey breast stuffed with Virginia ham, liver and giblets, then baked and served *rollatine*. Both dishes took months to perfect but cost less than $3 a serving to prepare, not including labor costs. Explained Richard Schneider, a New Jersey restaurateur: "We have to be bottom-line conscious these days. You can't make money serving lobster any more, and swordfish isn't much cheaper. So we look at the lowly, ugly sea bass and try to make something of it."

Observed U.S. Team Manager Ferdinand Metz, a veteran of Manhattan's Plaza Hotel and the late lamented Le Pavillon, and now an executive of the H.J. Heinz Co.: "We are all here to advance the art if possible, to learn from one another, to pick up a trick or two that may save us a little money or reduce wastage in a business where economics gets more important every day. And to win a few medals, of course." Like U.S. winemakers in international competition, the team showed that North American cuisine, drawing on a bounty of natural resources, has come of age. *—By Michael Demarest. Reported by Lee Griggs/Frankfurt*

U.S. Captain Klaus Friedenreich checking winning entrée; judges appraising the offerings; above, cold dish with Japanese flavor

On Any Given Sunday . . .

Almost everybody beats almost everybody in the chaotic N.F.L.

The last pro football game of the regular season ends at midnight, Dec. 22. Recapping the season in baritone, Sportscaster Bryant Gumbel has a terrible announcement to make: the National Football League had no winning teams in 1980 —all 28 finished 8-8. "It just goes to show," croons Gumbel, "that on any given Sunday . . ." Later a rival network announces that since nobody is qualified for the Super Bowl, Roone Arledge will pick two teams at random. The two most random teams, the Giants and Jets, play to a 2-2 tie in triple overtime at the Superdome, while all New York football fans watch *Casablanca* on Channel 9.

This scenario is fiction. The New Orleans Saints have already lost nine games, and besides, no one really thinks the Giants could win eight times in a single year, or even two years. But it is close enough to reality to worry coaches, whose teams are mired in football's most confusing season since the introduction of the forward pass. Most of the traditionally strong teams are huddled around the .500 mark.

The Pittsburgh Steelers, a preseason pick to win it all, are 5-4 and riddled with injuries. The New York Jets, everybody's dark-horse favorite, are 2-7. (That disappointment, plus the Giants' 1-8 showing, has prompted one local sportscaster to plead, "Let's bring pro football back to New York.") Detroit, suddenly a contender with a healthy quarterback and Rookie Running Back Billy Sims, won its first four, then lost three of the next five. Buffalo won five in a row, then lost three of its next four.

Says Famous Unemployed Coach George Allen: "You could use the word mediocrity. If you want to go down to the last week of the season with almost everybody having a shot at the playoffs, then you're accomplishing what you want." One man's mediocrity is another man's balance. Says Art Modell, president of the Cleveland Browns: "The whole system, the draft, sharing of moneys, the wherewithal to compete, is designed to bring everybody into a dead heat. So the optimum is everybody with an 8-8 record. I don't think anybody will dominate the game again, like Green Bay in the '60s or Miami and Pittsburgh in the '70s."

Certainly Pittsburgh has not been dominating the 1980s. The Steelers are in so much trouble that they had to insert Cliff Stoudt into a game. Stoudt is the answer to that well-known trivia question: What player has won two Super Bowl rings and qualified for an N.F.L. pension without ever appearing in a game? Stoudt, 25, is a fourth-year quarterback who backstops durable Terry Bradshaw and finally played a game and a half this year when Bradshaw bruised a thumb. Last Sunday Bradshaw, still hurting, returned to lead the Steelers to a narrow 22-20 victory over struggling Green Bay (3-5-1). The win was Pittsburgh's first in a month. Said Coach Chuck Noll: "What we're after is Los Angeles' distinction of being the team with the poorest record to make the Super Bowl." (Last year the Rams made it with nine wins and seven losses.)

No one doubts that the Steelers have been slowed by injuries. Before the Cleveland game two weeks ago, 35 of the 45 men on the roster reported to the team doctor. Still, most of the clucking over the Steelers this year has focused on buzz words like parity (on any given Sunday, etc.), complacency (it's hard to win when you already wear four Super Bowl rings) and cronyism (charges that Noll sticks with over-the-hill players he likes personally). Said Assistant Coach George Perles: "The fans are just bored with these players because they've been around so long. It's not a football problem—it's a national problem. It's prob-

Steelers' Bradshaw pawed by a Packer

Cowboys' White pulling a Staubach

Oilers' Campbell, the league's best rusher, demonstrating how to outrun a Colt

ably why we have so many divorces."

For his part, Noll prefers to talk of "malaise." Says he: "You get fat." The Steelers have so many outside interests that some find it hard to concentrate on football. Bradshaw has his own brand of peanut butter, Joe Greene won a Clio for his Coke commercial, and the offensive line is featured in an airline commercial hawking "widebodies." "We're not losing because we're fat cats," Greene says. "We're just not rushing as well as we used to, and the people across the line are getting better."

If there is any dominant team so far, it is the Philadelphia Eagles. With a record of 8-1, they are now favored to represent the N.F.C. in January's Super Bowl. When Coach Dick Vermeil arrived on the scene in 1976, the team was coming off a routinely terrible year (4-10). Many of the Eagles were soft and overpaid. Some refused to work out with weights or take their playbooks home. No longer. Vermeil is a taskmaster whose practices are the longest in the N.F.L. Weight lifting has become such a religion among the Eagles that grown linemen now talk like old Charles Atlas comic-book ads. Says Center Guy Morriss: "Now the other guys don't push me around."

The newly stingy defense has given up only 114 points, fewest in the league. With more faith in Quarterback Ron Jaworski, Vermeil has scrapped his conservative offense. Opponents now face a variety of wing, slot, double-tight end and three-receiver sets. Jaworski makes the most of Harold Carmichael, the spectacular, moody 6-ft. 8-in. receiver, and Wilbert Montgomery, a lowly sixth-round draft choice four years ago and now one of the league's premier runners.

Still, some around the league are betting that age and injuries—or the Dallas Cowboys—will catch up to the Eagles. The Cowboys, a.k.a. "America's Team," are 7-2 but have beaten only one winning team so far—San Diego, in a slightly loopy game that saw Quarterback Danny White twice run for first downs out of punt formation. The good news is that Ed ("Too Tall") Jones is back, having proved as competent in his boxing career as Heavyweight Larry Holmes would as a free safety. The bad news is that the defense is vulnerable, with Cliff Harris and Aaron Kyle gone, and the offense lacks Roger Staubach, who pulled out four wins last year in the final two minutes. Yet White did just that this week, completing a 28-yd. touchdown pass with only 45 seconds remaining, to defeat St. Louis 27-24.

In the more powerful American Football Conference, which has prevailed over the N.F.C. in 19 of 27 interconference games this year, the New England Patriots own the best record at 7-2. A game behind in the East is Buffalo, bolstered by the addition of Rookie Running Back Joe Cribbs and a collection of other shrewdly drafted younger players. Cribbs, final payment in the trade of O.J. Simpson to San Francisco, is the best runner the team has seen since O.J.'s days. Coach Chuck Knox also brought in Bill Munson, 38, to back up and lend psychological support to talented but erratic Quarterback Joe Ferguson. It seems to have worked. Ferguson no longer goes to pieces if he makes mistakes early in a game.

Houston and Oakland, teams that exchanged star quarterbacks, are doing well enough at 6-3. Ken Stabler, whose arm may not be quite what it once was, joins the league's best runner, Earl Campbell, who averages 5.2 yds. per carry and has produced back-to-back 200-yd. games. At Oakland the story is not Quarterback Dan Pastorini, the traded star, but former Heisman Trophy Winner Jim Plunkett, who has spent ten disappointing years in the pros. With Pastorini injured, Plunkett performed so spectacularly (twelve touchdown passes) that the Raiders have won four straight.

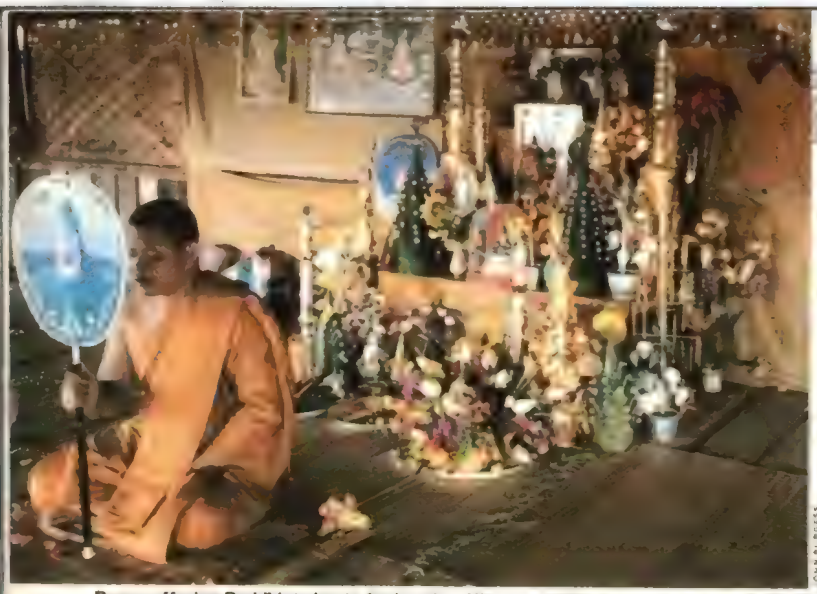
So far, Plunkett is the comeback of the year, Campbell is player of the year, Sims rookie of the year and Vince Ferragamo of the Rams the best quarterback. And now, the awards for broadcasters. The best-announcer award is almost certain to go to NBC-TV for the Dec. 20 Jets *vs.* Dolphins game, which will likely have no play-by-play announcer—only occasional commentary. But in a striking departure from tradition, the Howie, given annually for the worst remark by an announcer, will not go to a person named Cosell. The winner is Staubach, now with CBS. Reflecting on the well-balanced mediocrity that has characterized the season, Staubach described a running back's style as "heck-bent for leather." Darn the torpedoes.

—By John Leo

Lions' flashy first-year runner Billy Sims

Eagles' 6-ft. 8-in. wide receiver Harold Carmichael in the stretch for a catch against Dallas

Buffalo's rookie running back Joe Cribbs



Bonze offering Buddhist chants for Laotian, Khmer and Vietnamese refugees in Thailand; joyful procession in Sisophon, Kampuchea

Religion

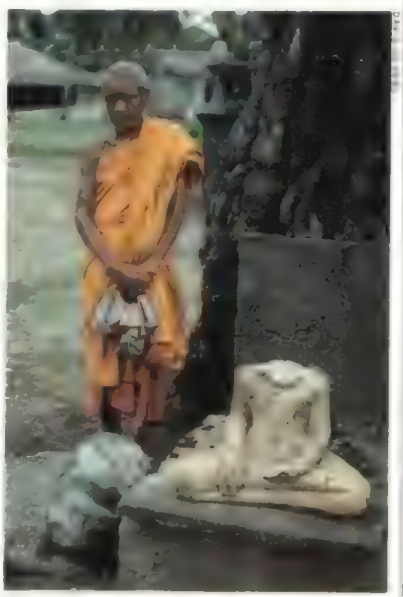
Buddhism Under the Red Flag

Despite Communist purges, Indochina's ancient faith lives on

During the lazy decades before the war in Viet Nam spread to Cambodia, now called Kampuchea, mornings in Phnom-Penh began when Buddhist bonzes filed slowly out from their wats (monasteries) in search of food. They proceeded along tree-lined boulevards, past colonial mansions and temples glistening with gold leaf, begging until their silver bowls were filled with rice and fresh mangoes. That usually did not take very long.

The march of the mendicants still begins at dawn as the hollow clap of the temple bell calls Phnom-Penh's faithful to alms. But the city through which the saffron-robed monks walk is now littered with rubble. There is far less food. The silver bowls have been replaced by plastic ones, bought on the black market. Yet the ritual is more important than ever. "People have asked to revive this dawn rite so they can share the little they have in order to make merit," explains Tep Vong, the senior Buddhist monk in Kampuchea. "We are rebuilding the entire structure of our social and religious life."

Buddhism was one of the first institutions affected when pro-Western governments in Cambodia, Laos and South Viet Nam were replaced five years ago by Communist regimes. In Viet Nam, bonzes managed to keep the pagodas open by strategically placing busts of Ho Chi Minh opposite altars crowded with Buddha images. In the mountainous kingdom of Laos, the new Communist rulers were less tolerant. Monks in Luang Prabang were lucky to escape with re-education in "seminar camps." Many others who had become wealthy by selling protective amulets to hill-tribe animists had their magic severely tested by Pathet Lao firing squads.



Monk with ruined Buddhas near Phnom-Penh

"Thrown into rivers or used for firewood."

Least tolerant of all were the new leaders of Kampuchea. Under the direction of Prime Minister Pol Pot and a shadowy group of doctrinaire fanatics called *Angka Loeu* (the Organization on High), the Khmer Rouge began methodical destruction of every vestige of religion. Christian ministers were slaughtered and Muslim mosques destroyed. The greatest indignities, however, were reserved for Buddhists, who constituted 90% of Kampuchea's population. Insurgents fresh from the jungle looted the country's 2,800 temples. "Buddhas were thrown into rivers or used as firewood," recalls Oum Soum, 62, deputy director of Phnom-Penh's Buddhist Institute. "Wats not destroyed became fertilizer warehouses." Bonzes were denounced as "parasites." The lucky ones were merely driven from their temples and into the fields. Of 80,000 Cambodian monks, 50,000 were murdered—often beaten to death—during the three years of Pol Pot's savage rule.

Buddhism, however, is a passive survivor's religion. The essence of Buddhist teaching is summarized in the Four Holy Truths: 1) existence is suffering; 2) suffering springs from desire; 3) this desire can be extinguished by 4) following the Buddha's path of truthful and chaste behavior. The introspective Theravāda school of Buddhism is predominant on the plains of Thailand and western Kampuchea, where the faith was once centered in the fabulous Angkor Wat. In Viet Nam, whose Mayāhāna school permits social concern alongside withdrawal of the self, Buddhists have sometimes supported nationalist movements, but rarely actively.

Neither Ho Chi Minh nor the CIA was able to find a way of using Buddhism as a rallying point. The only time Indochina's Buddhists were roused to unified action was in the early 1960s, when harassment by Viet Nam's Catholic minority provoked a series of public demonstrations that helped top-

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Religion

ple Catholic President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Because it has neither dogma nor Pope, and lacks both the promise of immortality and the threat implied in sin, Buddhism is often dismissed as a weak religion. In reality it offers one of the few elements of cohesion in the ethnographic jigsaw that is Southeast Asia. On the plains, the Buddha's concepts of the "flood" (travail in the material world) and "further shore" (the search for nirvana) are apt metaphors for peasant lives constantly subjected to natural disasters. In mountain societies, which are often driven by a lust for *Lebensraum*, Buddhism's "middle way" tempers excesses.

Indochina's current Communist regimes seek their own middle way to deal with their Buddhist populations. In South Viet Nam, people are free to worship, but those who meditate with the 15 monks (out of 30) who remain at the Vinh Nghiem pagoda in Ho Chi Minh City are reminded by the bust of Uncle Ho and numerous red banners that the religion is tolerated only as an appendage of the state. In Laos, over the past five years, one-fourth of the peasant population of 3 million have swum or rafted across the Mekong River to Thailand. One of the most famous of these waterborne refugees is Laos' 88-year-old Supreme Patriarch, Pra Yodkaw Vachirorods, who sighs, "Buddhism is alienated and separate from the people. Religion is dying in Laos."

Scholars in Thailand disagree. They are sanguine about Buddhism's long-range prospects in Indochina, since they feel the Gautama's ideas are not incompatible with Communism. Observes Thai Scholar Sulak Sivaraksa: "Christianity and Communism have a lot of ideological conflicts, but this is not the case with traditional Buddhism, which is socialistic in that it champions the equality of man."

Ironically, despite the previous violence, religious tolerance is greatest today in Kampuchea. At the Royal Palace in Phnom-Penh, joss sticks are on sale again, and on Sundays, swarms of worshipers file through the ornate silver pagoda. Outside the capital, United Nations trucks that haul rice during the week are busy on Sunday transporting Buddhists and their gifts of food and flowers to rural temples.

The government of Heng Samrin has spent no money rebuilding temples. For now, Kampuchea's impoverished peasants seem prepared to accept the financial burden of maintaining Buddhism by themselves. The 100 families in the tiny hamlet of Damrak Ampil, 12½ miles west of Phnom-Penh, recently contributed enough money to cast a new bronze Buddha and begin restoring their roofless temple. "Lord Buddha sustained us during our darkest hours," explains Village Committeeman Chea Non. "Our village is poor, but our faith is strong." —*By David DeVoss/Phnom-Penh*

DELCARDO—STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Norman Shumway and his team performing cardiac surgery at Stanford

Medicine

New Life for Heart Transplants

But rising concern about high costs threatens the procedure

When South African Surgeon Christiaan Barnard performed the first heart transplant in 1967, medicine instantly had a new glamour field. In two years, more than 60 teams around the world replaced failing hearts in about 150 people. Barely 20% of the patients survived after twelve months. By the mid-'70s the operation was abandoned by nearly all its early advocates.

Now transplants are gaining new attention, largely because of a rising success rate at California's Stanford University Medical Center, where 199 heart exchanges have been performed since 1968. About 65% of the patients treated there by Transplant Pioneer Norman Shumway and his team now survive at least a year, and 50% live for five years.

The Stanford doctors, who do two dozen transplants a year, half the world total, credit several developments. New methods of handling organs have increased the availability of donor hearts; so has increasing acceptance of the concept of "brain death," which declares a person dead when the brain is not functioning even though the heart beats on. Also, recipients are chosen more carefully. The ideal candidate is under age 50, healthy aside from heart disease, optimistic, stable and has a supportive family.

Finally, a biopsy technique developed in 1972 is helping doctors tell when a patient's immunological defense system is attempting to reject the transplant. Drugs used to suppress rejection also limit the body's ability to ward off infection. The biopsy technique allows drugs to be used with more precision, thus tempering their undesired effect.

Inspired by Stanford's experience, surgeons in England last year resumed transplants after a five-year hiatus. But while the 24 operations done so far have won public applause, critics complain that the procedure is absorbing National Health Service funds better spent in educating citizens on the need for eating a sound diet and not smoking. The number of people who can be helped by transplants, says Dr. Peter Draper of London's Guy's Hospital, "is insignificant when compared with the 160,000 [Britons] who die every year from heart diseases."

U.S. health authorities are also grappling with this issue. The bill for a transplant, nearly always paid by private health plans or public funds, ranges from $30,000 to $190,000; postoperative ambulatory care costs $2,500 a year. The trustees of Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital this year voted against starting a transplant program partly because they reckoned that each patient would consume as much of the hospital's resources as eight routine open-heart operations.

A more serious blow to transplants has come from the Department of Health and Human Services, which has withdrawn Medicare coverage of such operations pending a two-year study of the procedure's medical, ethical, social and economic impact. If Medicare quits the field for good, private health plans are almost sure to follow. ■

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Pilfering Urges

Is shoplifting an illness?

In the early 1950s, Lady Isobel Barnett, wife of the lord mayor of Leicester, became a celebrity in Britain as a panelist on the BBC's version of *What's My Line?* Last month Lady Barnett, 62 and widowed ten years, faced a panel herself: a jury considering charges that she shoplifted a tin of tuna and a carton of cream worth about $2. She admitted slipping the items into a cloth bag pinned inside her coat, but insisted it was an oversight, and she told the court the cloth bag was where she kept a flashlight as protection against muggers. Lady Barnett was convicted and sentenced to pay $650 in fines and court costs. Said she: "I have only myself to live with, and I can live with myself." Four days later, she was found electrocuted in her bath, apparently a suicide.

The story was front-page news in Britain. The day after her death, one tabloid ran a purported interview with Lady Barnett, complete with the headline "PLEASE HELP ME—I CAN'T STOP STEALING." The shopkeeper who had turned in Barnett received abusive letters. Wrote Novelist Penelope Mortimer, in the *Evening Standard:* "Isobel Barnett's disguise had been cracking for some time. No woman of her intelligence steals so clumsily unless she wants to get caught."

Amidst all the hoopla, one main question emerged: Is compulsive shoplifting an emotional disorder or just common thievery? *Daily Mail* Columnist Lynda Lee-Potter said she had interviewed dozens of alleged women shoplifters and found a strong pattern: most were widowed or emotionally neglected by their husbands, and they felt no sense of dishonesty; the thefts were frequently a thrilling escape from monotony and depression, and occasionally were sexually arousing. According to Lee-Potter, one woman told her, "I got an orgasm every time I slipped something into my handbag."

Psychiatrists think that kleptomania —compulsive theft for neurotic rather than economic motives—is a symptom of many different kinds of emotional stress, so they have no standard profile of the kleptomaniac. Many say the disorder is associated with depression and a sense of entitlement; the shoplifter is in effect saying, "I have been treated so harshly that I deserve the things I take." Says New York City Psychologist Donald Kaplan: "It is a kind of unconscious moral reasoning, demanding restitution." Adds Vanderbilt University Psychiatrist Pietro Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "They feel they have been victims of theft in the past, and they are simply evening the score."

Other psychiatrists reject the guilt-free explanation and insist that the disorder involves heavy guilt, compulsive risk-taking and the desire to be caught. Says Jon E. Gudeman, psychiatrist at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center: "Some feel unworthy and feel a need to be punished." Irene Stiver, a psychologist at McLean Hospital in Belmont, Mass., says that many well-off patients in therapy admit to kleptomania, but only after several months of treatment. "It is the risk-taking," she says, "the excitement of getting away with something." Maurice Lipsedge, a consultant psychiatrist at Guy's Hospital in London, thinks shoplifting by women has a good deal in common with male exhibitionism: both are risky acts indulged in by the middle-aged, and usually lead to punishment that comes somehow as a great relief. Says Lipsedge: "It's akin to any high-risk activity, like gunrunning or gambling."

Lady Isobel Barnett after her guilty verdict

A high-risk activity, like gun running.

Many in Britain think shoplifters should be offered special treatment, perhaps a discreet warning for a first offense. But dissenters argue that given such an opening, every thief would quickly develop symptoms of kleptomania when caught in the act. Whatever effect Lady Barnett's death may have on the reform of shoplifting laws, some noncompulsive thieves added a ghoulish touch to the debate: while members of her family were attending a memorial service, thieves broke into Lady Barnett's manor house near Leicester and stole $14,400 worth of silver. ■

Eating Binges

Anorexia's sister ailment

For dessert one night, Cynthia B. ate a candy bar, two bags of cookies, an éclair, three sandwiches, crackers and dip, a jar of peanut butter and half a jar of jelly, raisins and berries, two slices of bread with cheese and mayonnaise, a large pizza and four bowls of cereal. Then she made herself throw up.

Cynthia's eating binges, always followed by self-induced vomiting or heavy use of laxatives, are symptoms of bulimarexia (from the Greek words for ox and hunger), an eating disorder also known as gorge-purge syndrome and bulimia nervosa. Some bulimarectics gorge themselves four or five times a week, putting away 40,000 calories, then take 200 to 600 laxative pills. "To many of them, a day without binging is like a day without sunshine," says Health Educator Mary Ellen Shanesey of the University of Illinois. "They have chosen this way to handle stress, as alcoholics use alcohol."

Almost all of those afflicted are women—also true of the better-known eating disorder anorexia nervosa, the "starvation disease." Like anorectics, some bulimarectics seem to come from homes where food was important and therefore a focal point for power struggles and gibes about weight. Anorectics are mostly shy, withdrawn females who develop their symptoms around the onset of puberty. Bulimarectics tend to be extraverted, successful perfectionists who start the gorging behavior in their late teens, and often have trouble seeing their problem as more than an idiosyncrasy—one reason why it is so little known to the public. Anorectics are cadaverously thin, while bulimarectics generally weigh in at normal levels.

Dr. Craig Johnson, director of the Anorexia Nervosa Center at Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital and Medical Center, who is heading an epidemiological study of the disorder, estimates that "up to 20% of women on college campuses are involved in some degree in bulimia and purging." A study at Ohio State University produced an even higher estimate: 30%. Johnson reports some colleges have informal groups of women who "pig out" regularly in frantic feasting.

In group therapy, individual psychotherapy or behavior modification—the standard treatments—some women cut down on their binges, but so far cures are unknown. Says Shanesey: "If we could get them to binge-purge once every three weeks instead of four or five times a week, that would be a start." One of the few things known for certain about bulimarectics is that they hate to cook for friends. Reason: they are afraid they will eat all the food before the guests arrive. ■

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The presidential candidates of the future take to the stump: Warren ("No Comment") Beatty and his opponent Robert Redford

People

This year's presidential bid by a onetime movie star may be only the beginning. According to **Dustin Hoffman,** actor and amateur political analyst, the race of the future will feature two American screen idols: blond, squeaky clean **Robert Redford** and dark, smoldering **Warren Beatty.** Just imagine the television campaign commercials with that kind of talent! So far, prospects for the race look good. Like most future contenders, Redford immediately pooh-poohed the idea of running, injecting just the proper note of ambiguity. "I don't like myself in that role," he insisted, though he has already rehearsed it in *The Candidate* (1972). But he did add, "I have a right to speak out on the issues. Being an actor isn't synonymous with giving up citizenship papers." Beatty too is already sounding like a politician. His response to queries about a possible candidacy: "No comment."

■

As Composer **Virgil Thomson** explains it, two things have always been able to lure him from his digs at Manhattan's Chelsea Hotel back to his Midwestern home town. First, that Kansas City air: "I like the way it smells, and I get claustrophobic if I stay in New York very long." Second, "the good Missouri food. It is not like going to Cleveland or Pittsburgh. There is nothing to eat there." For his latest homecoming, however, Thomson had a third incentive. In honor of the musician's 84th birthday this month, the University of Missouri Conservatory of Music held a week-long Thomson festival. There, the native son received an honorary degree, previewed a new PBS documentary on his life, heard the fine air filled with the sound of his music and, of course, thoroughly enjoyed some memorable testimonial dinners.

■

Don't cry for **Faye Dunaway,** Argentina. The truth is she never left a book unread in boning up for her role as **Evita Perón** in a TV movie set to be aired in February. "She came from absolute poverty and created for herself absolute power," reports an admiring Dunaway, 39. "She forged a mystical relationship with the poor in her country. An incredible mixture of instinct and awareness, intelligence and emotion." NBC's four-hour *Evita!—First Lady,* which co-stars **James Farentino,** 42, as Dictator **Juan Perón,** bears little resemblance to the current Broadway musical. Says Dunaway: "We want to show the truth laced through with what evolved spiritually." Meanwhile, no expense has been spared to show Evita's material evolution. Her wardrobe cost a third of a million dollars and includes 60 costumes—not counting the one shown here. Instructs Dunaway: "Evita changed four times a day." —*By Claudia Wallis*

Dunaway awash with Farentino in her role as Evita Perón

Kansas City Native Virgil Thomson outside his Manhattan apartment

On the Record

Hugh Leonard, Irish playwright, on why he likes America: "It is the only part of the world that hasn't become Americanized."

Jane Seymour, English actress, on American men: "They have wonderful minds. So much is stored inside—all those sports scores and so on."

Katharine Hepburn, 70, actress, asked how she stays trim: "I don't have to watch my figure as I never had much of one to watch. What you see before you is the result of a lifetime of chocolate."

"Like a Suburban Swimming Pool"

NBC is first with a splash of Reagan blue, but Cronkite scores

For millions of viewers who had settled in with snacks and drinks for a long night of watching election returns, it was like an eagerly awaited heavyweight championship that ends with a knockout eleven seconds into the first round. At 6 p.m. E.S.T., an hour before Election Night coverage got under way at the three networks, CBS News President Bill Leonard confidently collected a bet from a Carter backer, proclaiming, "It's gonna be an early night." At NBC, John Chancellor signed on at 7:00 with the prediction that "Ronald Reagan will win a very substantial victory tonight, very substantial." In fact, by the time ABC made the night's first official call —Reagan in Indiana, at 6:30, one minute ahead of NBC, two ahead of CBS —news executives at all three shops had exchanged hunches with one another. All three agreed that their Election Day "exit" surveys of voters leaving the polls pointed to a landslide victory for Ronald Reagan. Still there remained the painstaking process of reporting votes from selected precincts, in order to call the states one by one. At least, that's the way it was at CBS and ABC.

But something funny was happening on the 24-ft. by 14-ft. plastic and Plexiglas map at NBC, behind which a team of electricians waited to flick switches that would illuminate 7,324 light bulbs—red ones for Carter, blue for Reagan, white for Anderson. States were turning peacock blue faster than John Chancellor and his team could announce them. Looking over his shoulder at the epidemic of blue, David Brinkley observed "It's beginning to look like a suburban swimming pool." Other NBC staffers took to calling it "Lake Reagan." New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware and South Carolina (18 electoral votes) fell into the drink with a resounding splash at 8:15:21 p.m. E.S.T., and NBC flashed the words REAGAN WINS' on the home screens. Thus the network that has been mired in third place in ratings had won the prize for speed.

Over at CBS, Walter Cronkite, anchoring his last election before he retires next year, heard the news as he was reporting his network's latest electoral vote total for Reagan 67. Viewers tuned to CBS may have been confused when Cronkite suddenly launched into a rather huffy defense of his network's methods of projecting winners. Taking a slap at "so-called exit polling, in which voters are interviewed when they leave the polling place," Cronkite insisted "We make our estimates on the basis of sample precincts, of actual voters casting votes in those precincts."

The reason for this lecture was evident soon enough at all three networks: 90 minutes after the NBC call, President Carter walked into his Washington campaign headquarters and conceded defeat. Carter evidently was less cautious in recognizing reality than Cronkite. CBS finally gave the election to Reagan at 10:33 p.m., ABC at 9:52 p.m.

What had happened? NBC had pulled the rug out from under its competitors by secretly switching the rules for its Election Night victory calls. While ABC and CBS analysts cautiously awaited voting results from their 7,000 sample precincts, NBC executives decided to use their exit polls as a basis for calling many states rather than wait for any real vote counts. NBC's reasoning, in a landslide, there is no place for punctilio.

Walter Cronkite soon made up for lost time by scoring a remarkable coup: a three-way interview with former President Gerald Ford at the anchor desk with him in New York and President-elect Reagan in Los Angeles. Earlier, Ford had tried unsuccessfully to phone Reagan. So as the President-elect left the Century Plaza Hotel after claiming victory, CBS Correspondent Bill Plante persuaded him to hold a network headset to his ear and trade long-distance pleasantries with Cronkite and Ford. Said Ford "You'll make a fine President." Responded Reagan: "This victory is certainly yours to share."

ABC was not so cool under fire. Shocked by the 8:15:21 bomb, ABC's crew rushed to catch up—and proceeded to call two races wrong. Retracting his prediction of victory for incumbent Governor William Clinton in Arkansas, a slightly sheepish Max Robinson called Clinton's defeat "a stunning upset."

As the evening wound down to the last few computer-generated graphic bumps and grinds, NBC's fast draw was drawing as much comment in certain quarters as the election itself. CBS News' Bill Leonard insisted, while sipping a Coke, that NBC's cannon-ball finish was "small beer." He added "We all knew it was going to be a landslide. If one horse is a foot from the finish line and all the others have fallen down, calling the race then or waiting until he finishes is a technicality, perhaps. Did CBS tell you Carter was winning?" San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, for one, complained when NBC's early prediction effectively ended the race three hours before the polls closed in her state.

In reply, NBC News President William Small snapped: "In 18 years as a journalist, I've lived in a number of places where the best thing you could do to keep an election honest was to report it as quickly as you could." Small admitted that the crew at NBC was fairly aglow over winning the call-'em-first race. So, evidently, was he. Rubbing it in, he declared a bit condescendingly "The mystery to us is why the others weren't doing it quicker." —*By Janice Castro. Reported by Elizabeth Rudulph/New York*

Under their ever darkening map, the NBC team huddles just after calling the race for Reagan

What if "one horse is a foot from the finish line and the others have all fallen down"?

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Pirandello Would Have Been Lost

After so unsatisfactory a campaign, someone has to be at fault. Why not the press? After all, as James David Barber, a political scientist at Duke University, argues: "Journalists are the new kingmakers." Far from being puffed up at the honor, journalists are apt to reply: "Who, me? Thanks but no thanks." They, too, are wondering, like card players with a poor hand, "Who dealt this mess?"

They should not look all that innocent. The media are pervasive. Americans know what they know about candidates from the press. And journalists are conspicuous —whether it is the pontificating anchorman or the pesky reporter. The modest reply, more true than not true, is that the press has about as much control over the campaign as Howard Cosell does over a football game.

Last month Tom Winship, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, chastised his colleagues because the campaign "ain't no box office hit, and the press deserves some of the blame. By and large, we are letting the candidates set the agenda." Winship repeated the familiar self-reproach that newspapers weren't raising significant issues. To which Paula Hawkins, a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from Florida, answers: "You never win an election on issues. The only people who want to be specific are editors and journalists. The people out there are tired of someone who has all the answers." Only half kiddingly, Barber would even "forbid a candidate to discuss what he would do if elected," remembering F.D.R.'s promise in 1932 to balance the budget and Nixon as the exemplar of law-and-order. So what is left? Creating a favorable impression of what you would be like in office. That was campaigning, 1980-style: not issues, but attitudes; not character, but appearance. The result has been the development of parody news, which has earned the same status as real news.

EVANS—STOMA

Reagan meets the press in Pittsburgh

Parody news comes in two kinds: what the candidate wants known or concealed about himself, and the image he tries to hang on his opponent. The methods are old but have never before been so professionally deployed. Nowadays a group the size of a basketball team dominates a campaign: the candidate, his fund raiser, his "issues" man, his pollster and his adman. The pollster leaves it to the Gallups or Harrises to record who is ahead; he minutely tests his candidate's trouble spots, his opponent's weaknesses, so that daily adjustments can be made. If Reagan seems weak with women, have him promise a woman judge; if Carter gains no ground by denouncing Reagan's tax cut, have Carter promise one himself. Thus did parody news operate day by day and become news of its own. Having long wearied of reporting a candidate's "set speech," many journalists wrote insider stories of how strategists were positioning their candidates. If the image maker gauged his "perceptions" correctly, the press found itself adapting those images, helpfully pointing out some new sample of Reagan's extremism, or Carter's meanspiritedness. Pirandello would have found himself lost in these corridors.

Candidates learned to schedule as few press conferences as possible, and to have some rehearsed ad lib ready for the cameras as they stepped from a plane. Thus bypassed, reporters badgered the candidates, "hoping," in Barber's words, "for some bit of quotable idiocy, usually making do with some hypothetical clash," and concentrated on gaffes.

But only part of what appeared in the media was mediated by the press itself. The rest came in through the advertising man's door, lavishly contributed by the taxpayer. Here parody news was made to look like the real thing, whether in carefully chosen snippets of a candidate looking good in a public appearance or in "negative commercials" about an opponent—an unfortunate specialty of Carter's adman Gerald Rafshoon, though hardly exclusive to him. It is a corruption of the political process to photograph a hundred voters, in an imitation of random man-in-the-street sampling, and use only the ones who say they fear that Reagan would blow up the world. Even if the viewer knows it is a commercial, the image men expect the subliminal "actuality" to linger. So widespread is this practice that NBC *Nightly News*, in the election's final week, put together a cutesie "news" item, with a quick succession of voters, each saying, "I'm undecided"; "I'm undecided." Even the devices of parody news had become a part of real news.

■ ■ ■

If one responsibility of the press, in Barber's view, is to plumb a candidate's background and his knowledge of the facts, the press did that job well with Reagan. He was not so much unknown as too simply perceived. The press had to get past Reagan's aw-shucks actor's persona and also avoid another parody—the straw-filled scarecrow wild man the Carter people created. Reporting gave the voters a plausible portrait of a 9-to-5 executive, only passably informed, given to exaggerated remarks but cautious in action, who wants complicated problems reduced to *Reader's Digest* brevity, then decides about them without heartburn.

In older days, when candidates were more at the mercy of the press, there were frequent angry cries of bias. Hearing few such complaints from politicians this time, the Boston *Globe's* Winship frets that "we are probably not doing our job." That's more hair-shirting than is necessary; the rarity of partisan bias was refreshing. Several usually vociferous press commentators seemed stunned by unenthusiasm. "It's impossible to determine which of these men would be the more capable President," concluded the Washington *Post's* David S. Broder. On the Sunday before the election, Columnist Joseph Kraft lamented: "My own mind is not made up. I would certainly not recommend either candidate to anybody." But such negative impartiality had another aspect.

In a philosophical moment, White House Press Secretary Jody Powell told the New York *Times:* "If people keep getting told that their leadership is poor, or ineffective, and that they don't have any real choices, you'll see a fairly steady erosion in the legitimacy of Government. That's going to have a real impact on anybody's ability to govern —Reagan's or ours."

The widespread cynicism about 1980 politics may have been inherent in the situation and in the choice of candidates, and it may have been a faithful reflection of the public's mood, but the press certainly amplified it.

BAR TENDER SMIRNOFF STYLE.

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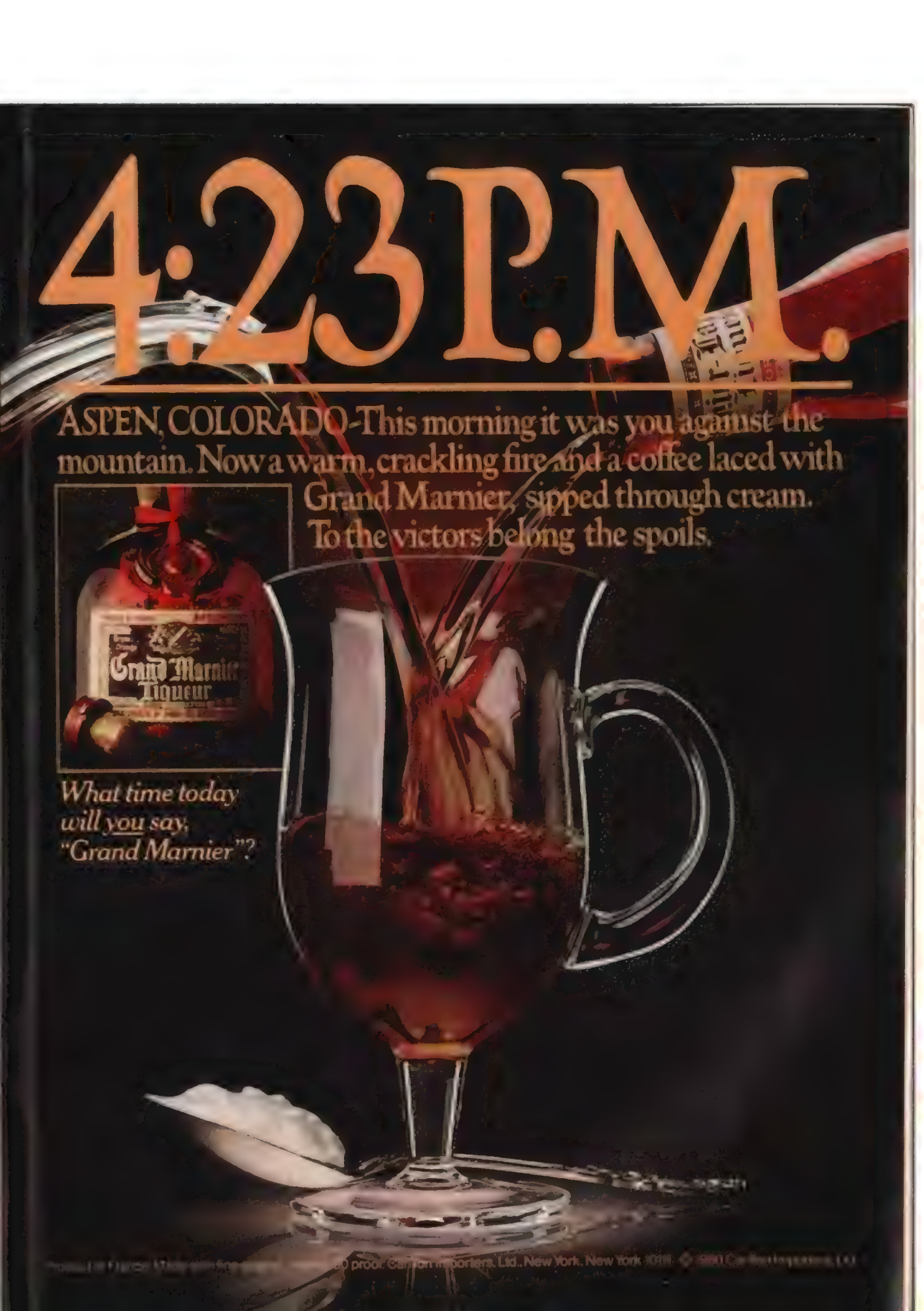

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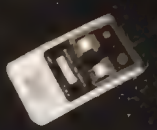

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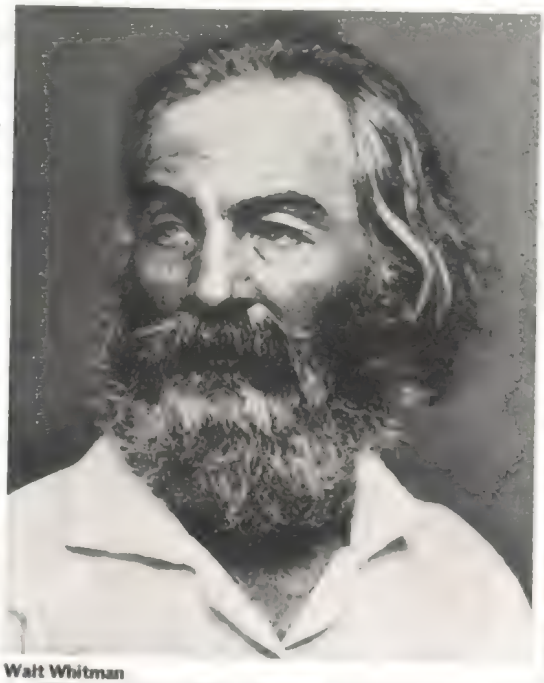
The First All-American Poet

WALT WHITMAN: A LIFE *by Justin Kaplan; 429 pages; Simon & Schuster; $15*

When he was good he was very, very good, the words flowing freely as birdsong: "Solitary the thrush,/ The hermit withdrawn to himself, avoiding the settlements,/ Sings by himself a song./ Song of the bleeding throat." When he was bad he was the bombastic wizard of "O," pouring forth jingo and transcendental eyewash: "O sacred Union! . . . O air and soil! . . . O universal Muse!" As Walt Whitman, creator of the athletic and homoerotic poetry in *Leaves of Grass*, he remains elusive, a national trompe l'œil whose shape and solidity shift with biographical and critical focus.

Scholars seem to agree on one point: Whitman was the first all-American poet. He celebrated landscape and skyline, amplified idiomatic speech through an Old Testament ram's horn, ennobled manual labor, mourned the Civil War dead and provided stirring accompaniment to Manifest Destiny.

Whitman's emotions took him further than his countrymen cared to go. Like all romantic visionaries, he wanted civilization without its discontents; the children of Adam could frolic naked in the sands and build a nation too. Readers were shocked by the explicitness of such early poems as *Song of Myself* ("You settled your head athwart my hips and gently turned over upon me"). Wrote one admirer from Boston: "It is believed that you are not ashamed of your reproductive organs."



Walt Whitman

Regenerative power of personality, change and language.

Not on paper, at least. One of the ironies that Justin Kaplan approaches indirectly in his meditative analysis of Walt Whitman's life and art is that this American Dionysus constructed his own nation —*Leaves of Grass*—by channeling his sexuality into poetry. Instead of phallic towers there were tumescent words.

In *The Solitary Singer* (1955), Biographer Gay Wilson Allen read Whitman's odes to male camaraderie as "a vicarious substitute for physical experience." Kaplan adds that the poet recognized his homosexuality "at least as desire if not fulfillment." But he goes on to place Whitman in a broad cultural stream that runs from classical thought to the romanticism and radicalism of the 19th century. Putting himself momentarily in Walt's boots, Kaplan writes: "Why should the sexes be so manacled by custom and decree, by an irrational terror of gender confusion, that aggressiveness was reserved to the male and tenderness to the female? Androgyny, the beautiful integrating principle that had stirred poets and philosophers from Plato to Coleridge, seemed only natural and right to Whitman standing 'all alone,' 'myself,' 'solitary,' a self-contained classless society of one."

Whitman was by his own admission "furtive like an old hen," and he likened his poems to eggs laid in concealment. But once they hatched between hard covers, he knew how to sound the cockcrow of publicity. If his tone was frequently more holistic than thou, the reason was that he believed passionately in his power to relate all things. His own experience was wide. He grew up with the sun, sea and wildlife of Long Island and the muddy streets and busy docks of Brooklyn. Whitman the urbanite was a printer, newspaperman, editor, publisher, teacher, building contractor and real estate speculator. In 1840 this solitary singer even stumped for the election of Martin Van Buren.

He was a large man, some 6 ft. tall and 200 lbs., with "the wild-hawk look foreigners associated with Americans." He had great enthusiasm for Free Thinkers, the militant feminism of Margaret Fuller and George Sand, and such fads of his day as magnetism, sexology and phrenology. According to the bumps on his own head, Whitman had "a certain reckless swing of animal will, too unmindful, probably, of the conviction of others."

Whitman was that. He knew the works of like-minded European writers, such as Carlyle and Goethe, but as a free man in the New World he did not acknowledge their influence. Rather, he saw himself as "a master after my own kind," a phrase that suggests messianic paganism that led the poet to view his work as a gospel of natural religion. "I must have the love of all men and all women," he wrote. "If there is one left in any country who has no faith in me, I will travel to that country and go to that one."

Biographer Kaplan marks these travels not with a chronological posting of names and facts but with an imaginative and supplely written account that keeps bending back toward *Leaves of Grass*. This was the course of Whitman's own life. Youth and young manhood fed the first edition in 1855. The poem cycle became an organic reflection of its author as he journeyed through the South, the Great Lakes, the Hudson Valley, to Washington, where he cared for the Civil War's wounded and dying, and finally to Camden, N.J., where he erected a roughhewn burial vault to house his bones and those of his family. In a sense Whitman's entire life was an act of ingathering and what Kaplan calls "a demonstration of the regenerative power of personality, change and language." The biographer himself is to be congratulated for renewing the poet and his *Leaves of Grass* in an age of AstroTurf.

—By R.Z. Sheppard

Excerpt

"Life in the wartime Federal City peaked to a 'mad, wild, hellish' intensity. Tides of office seekers, profiteers and promoters, voyeurs, zealots, do-gooders, quacks, religious enthusiasts, prostitutes, grieving wives and relatives, swindlers, scamperers from ruined reputations and sinking ships drove up the price of food and drink ('38 cts for beer,' Whitman noted with disbelief) and made accommodations scarce. More than New Orleans in the victorious rattle and vivacity of 1848, more than Manhattan, and despite the frightful suffering in its hospitals, Washington seemed to Whitman a city of romance, of things beginning. He said he had been drawn there by 'a profound conviction of necessity, affinity.'"

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Books

Damsel flies mating

Notable

HOW THEY DO IT
by Robert A. Wallace
Morrow; 172 pages; $9.95

"How do porcupines make love?" asks the old joke. "Very, very carefully." But how do other animals do it? For those who want more serious replies, Biologist Robert Wallace provides some fascinating (and nonprurient) details. Volumes have been written about mating rituals at the top of the food chain. *How They Do It* demonstrates that the lower animals have rituals that are every bit as varied—or bizarre. Geese, for example, form *ménages à trois;* bedbugs practice homosexuality; lobsters are rapists, immobilizing mates with their powerful claws. Chimpanzees are hyperpromiscuous: an oestrous female will usually mate with every male in her pack. Rhinoceroses, which can weigh upwards of 3,000 lbs., make love so roughly that zookeepers are hesitant about breeding them; after a sexual encounter, one of the behemoths often succumbs to *la grande mort.* Most animals, Wallace relates, accept occasional rejections. But some take them quite seriously, and no one, even in a Woody Allen movie, is more tragically affected than the male solitary wasp. He enthusiastically copulates for as long as several days. But when the female signals that she has had enough by turning away, he makes no amends or entreaties. His biological function fulfilled, he dies

THE OLD NEIGHBORHOOD
by Avery Corman
Simon & Schuster; 219 pages; $10.95

Avery Corman's favorite flavor is bittersweet. It may be his only one. In *Oh, God!* he presented the deity as an old man amused and appalled at his creation. In *Kramer vs. Kramer* he made Splitsville an interesting place to spend a marriage. His newest tale concerns the mid-life-style of Steve Robbins, a child of The Bronx circa 1944. Steve grows up indifferent to everything but basketball played in a schoolyard. But his parents do not include jump shots as a requisite of upward mobility, and the dutiful son

Books

soon drifts off court to City College. Equipped with a business degree and a modicum of ambition, he sets out for "the most dazzling job in the world"—as an advertising man. Madison Avenue finds him the least dazzling candidate in New York, so Steve heads toward Los Angeles, where they know how to do bittersweet by the numbers: No. 1, the rise to the summit via award-winning ads. No. 2, the beautiful wife whose wealthy parents are so assimilated they mispronounce the Yiddishisms sprinkled through their dialogue. No. 3, the breakup of family and business. No. 4, the search for roots back in New York, where Steve attempts a few foul shots at his past life. There are some affecting moments in *The Old Neighborhood*, but ultimately this scenario-sized volume seems as out of place on paper as its hero is on an office carpet. For Steve, home is cement. *The Old Neighborhood* belongs on celluloid.

THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND
by Jane O'Reilly
Macmillan; 220 pages; $10.95

A photograph turns up in the back of a closet. "The girl is wearing a veil, and under it an expression of belligerent innocence. I do not remember her very well . . ." The bride is Author Jane O'Reilly, 0 for 2 in marriage, a working mother, no longer an innocent, but still belligerent in the cause of that most elusive constitutional guarantee, equality. In this collage of sparkling, ironic observations, she pursues her grail everywhere: in Aspen, Colo.; in Scotland; in the Soviet Union; even in Iran. But mainly she attempts to find it on home ground. Sometimes her search leads to melancholia. Conversing with an imaginary granddaughter 21 years from now, she says, "Women learned things that could never be unlearned . . . we discovered, more often than not, that we could not apply what we had learned to our private lives without destroying love." Sometimes she finds "a certain inherent humor in being on the cutting edge of a social revolution. It is funny, actually, to be unsure of what you feel more offended by:

Jane O'Reilly

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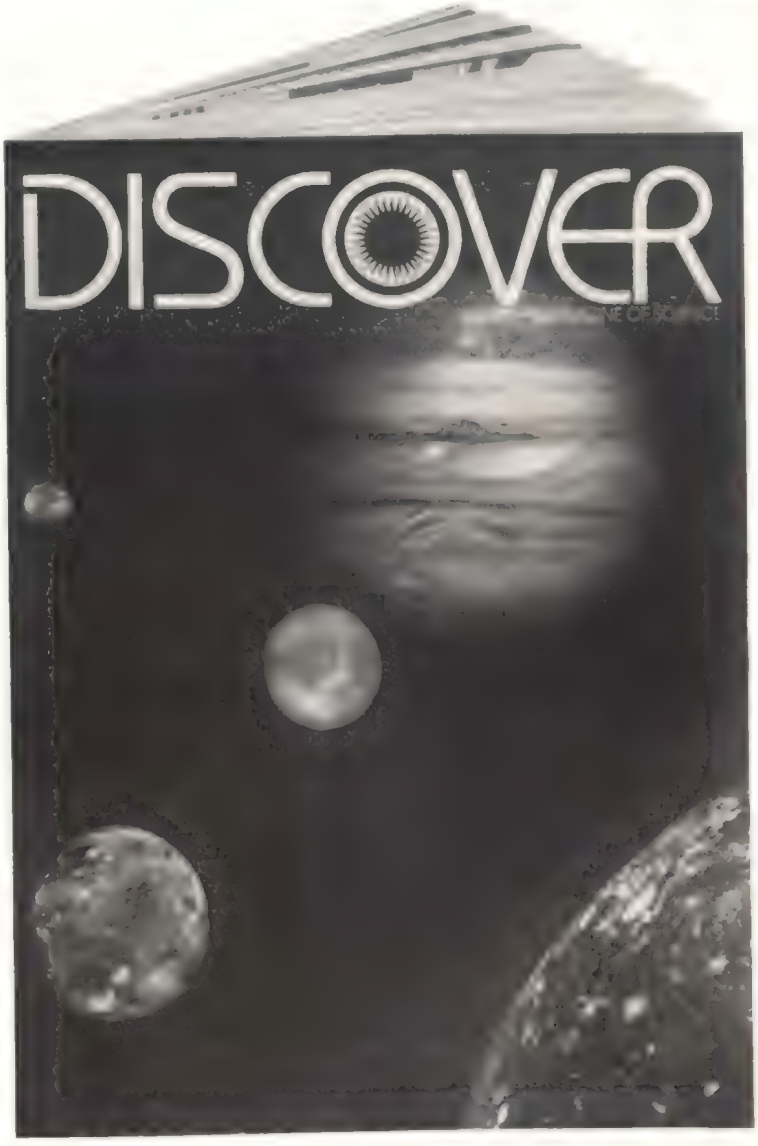

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Books

the guests ignoring your opinions or not complimenting you on your soufflé."

O'Reilly, a contributor to TIME and other publications, long ago abandoned the conservative religious tenets of her childhood, but she never succumbs to the sin of despair. With a civil tongue in her cheek, she confesses, "It's hard to be a feminist if you are a woman." And she goes on examining America's flawed society on the theory that "I pinch myself. It hurts, therefore I am." That she is, and the movement is richer for her. Warning: the book is subtitled *The Housewife's Moment of Truth and Other Feminist Ravings*. The only raves O'Reilly should elicit are those from readers. ■

Editors' Choice

FICTION: A Philip Roth Reader, *Philip Roth* • Crackers, *Roy Blount Jr* Italian Folktales, *selected and retold by Italo Calvino* • Loon Lake, *E.L. Doctorow* • Stanley Elkin's Greatest Hits, *Stanley Elkin* • The Middle Ground, *Margaret Drabble* • The Collected Stories of Eudora Welty, *Eudora Welty*

NONFICTION: Abroad, *Paul Fussell* American Dreams: Lost and Found, *Studs Terkel* • Lyndon, *Merle Miller* Merton: A Biography, *Monica Furlong* • Naming Names, *Victor Navasky* • The Letters of Evelyn Waugh, *edited by Mark Amory* Vladimir Nabokov: Lectures on Literature, *edited by Fredson Bowers*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. The Covenant, *Michener (1 last week)*
2. Firestarter, *King (2)*
3. The Key to Rebecca, *Follett (3)*
4. Come Pour the Wine, *Freeman (4)*
5. Unfinished Tales, *Tolkien (5)*
6. The Fifth Horseman, *Collins & Lapierre (6)*
7. The Hidden Target, *MacInnes (7)*
8. The Tenth Commandment, *Sanders (8)*
9. Rage of Angels, *Sheldon (9)*
10. The Second Lady, *Wallace (10)*

NONFICTION

1. Crisis Investing, *Casey (1)*
2. The Sky's the Limit, *Dyer (2)*
3. Merv, *Griffin with Barsocchini (3)*
4. Craig Claiborne's Gourmet Diet, *Claiborne with Franey (4)*
5. Shelley, *Winters (5)*
6. Number 1, *Martin & Golenbock (6)*
7. Free to Choose, *Milton & Rose Friedman (7)*
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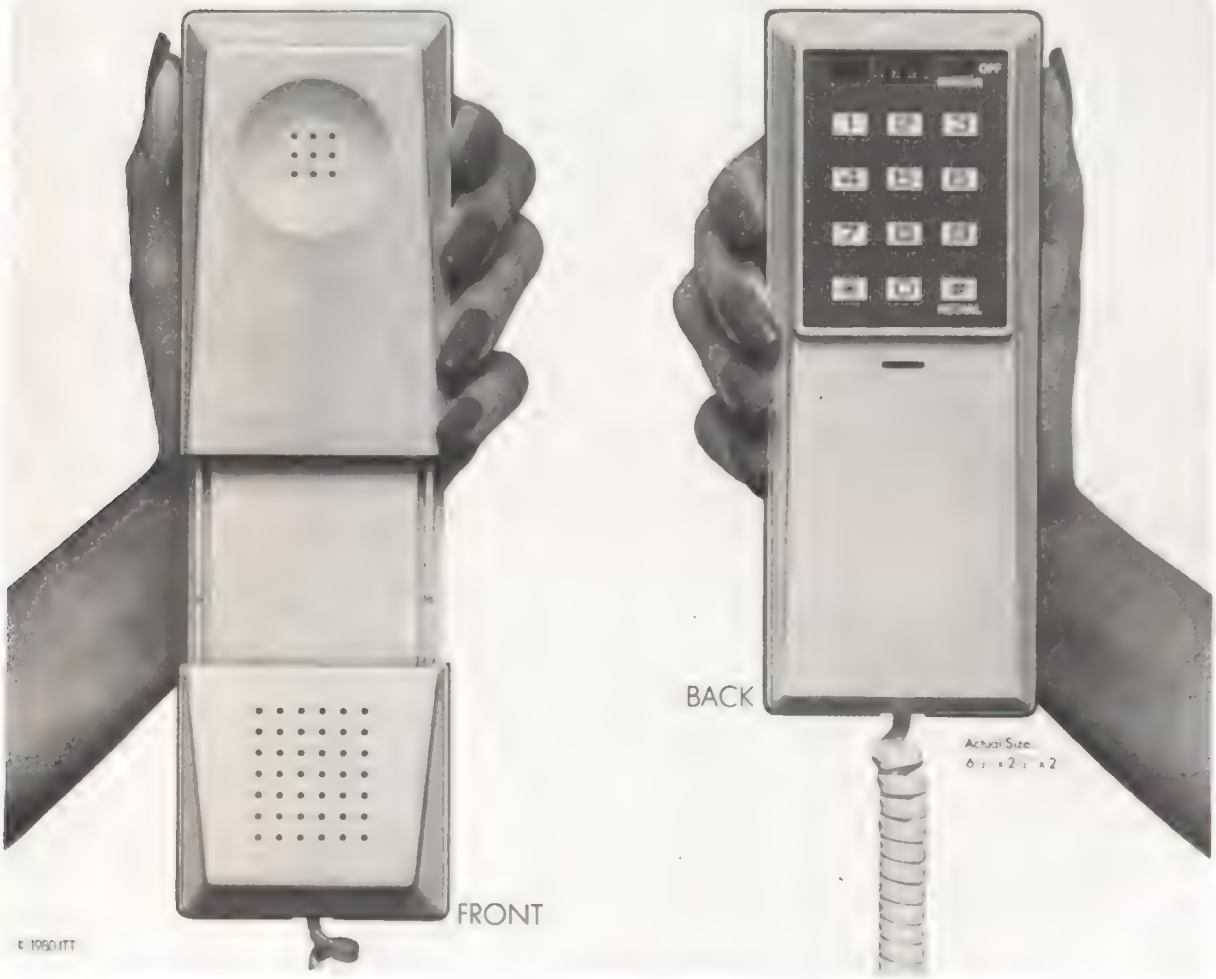

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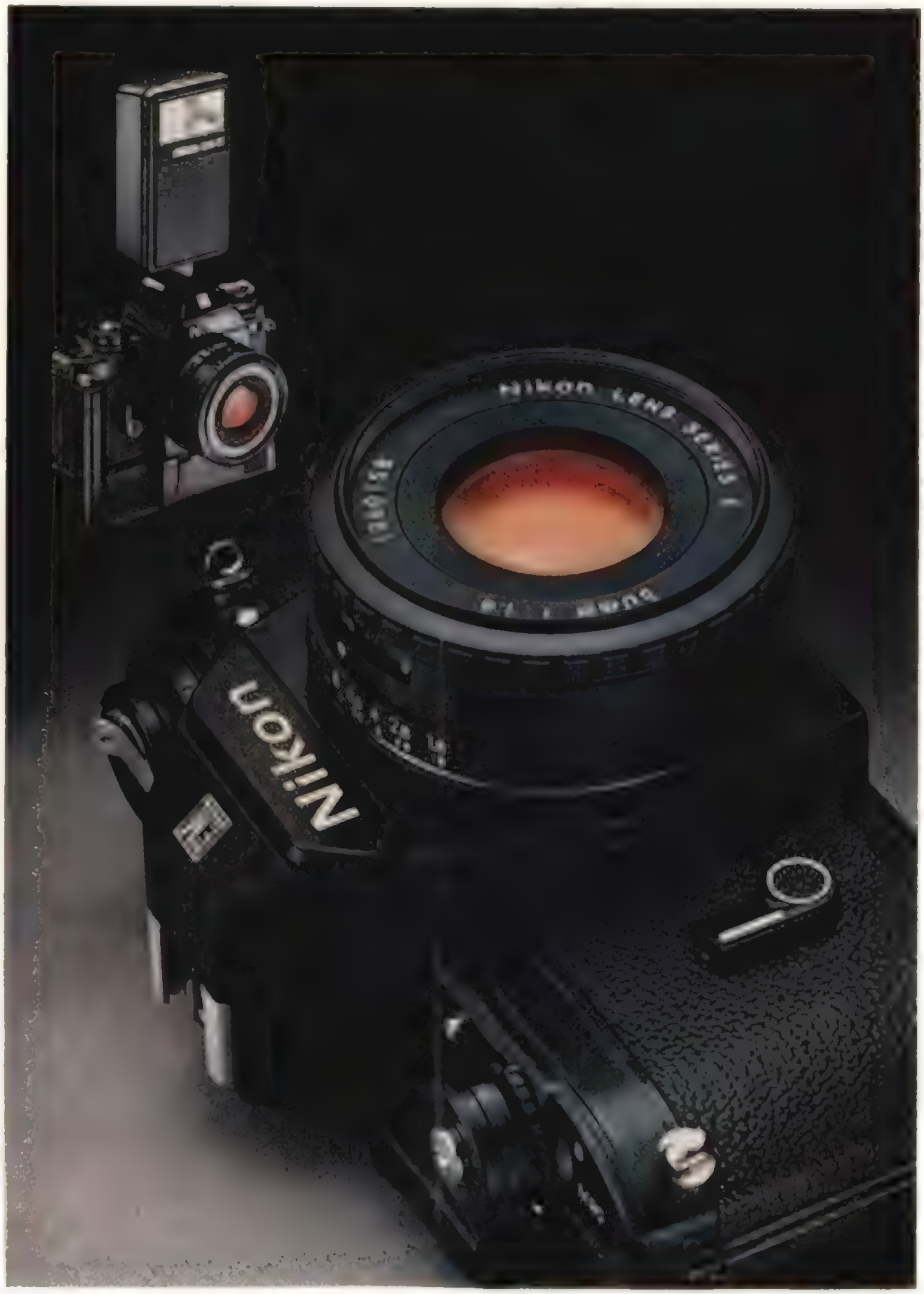

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Milestones

MARRIED. Martin Mayer, 52, author *(The Lawyers, The Fate of the Dollar)* and sometime music critic for *Esquire* and other publications; and **Karin Lissakers,** 36, a former deputy director of the policy planning staff of the State Department; he for the second time, she for the first; in Washington, D.C.

DIED. Harold McLinton, 33, linebacker for the Washington Redskins from 1969 to 1979; of injuries received last month when he got out of his car on the shoulder of an interstate highway to ask directions of an acquaintance in another car and was struck by a passing motorist; in Washington, D.C.

DIED. Leon Janney, 63, child actor in such movies as *Courage* (1930), *Abie's Irish Rose* (1928) and several *Our Gang* comedies who went on to a busy career in radio, theater, film and television; of cancer; in Guadalajara, Mexico. Janney made his debut as a two-year-old vaudevillian in his home town of Ogden, Utah, portrayed the all-American boy Richard Parker in *The Parker Family* on both radio and television, and was also noted for roles like Mr. Peachum in the 1956 off-Broadway revival of *The Threepenny Opera*.

DIED. Richard R. McNulty, 81, retired vice admiral and sixth-generation sailor who helped to found the U.S. Merchant Marine Cadet Corps in 1938 and the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N.Y., in 1943, serving as the academy's superintendent from 1946 to 1948; in Gloucester, Mass.

DIED. John Van Vleck, 81, physicist regarded as the "father of modern magnetism"; in Cambridge, Mass. Van Vleck was the first to indicate the significance of "electron correlation," or the interaction between the motions of electrons; and his 1932 book, *The Theory of Electric and Magnetic Susceptibilities,* remains a classic in the field. His research, for which he was a co-recipient of the 1977 Nobel Prize for Physics, helped explain how a foreign atom invades the symmetrical structure of a crystal, and was basic to the development of modern computer memory systems.

DIED. Elizebeth Smith Friedman, 88, cryptographer and co-author of the 1957 book *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined,* in which she and her husband William used modern statistical methods of linguistic analysis to dispute the theory that Sir Francis Bacon was the secret author of Shakespeare's plays; of arteriosclerosis; in Plainfield, N.J. Learning code-breaking during World War I at the U.S. Government's Riverbank Laboratories in Geneva, Ill., Friedman served as an expert witness in such trials as the so-called Doll Woman Case of 1944, in which an antique doll dealer in New York City was convicted of spying for Japan.

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Animal Trackers

Viruses dog birds—and dogs

All things considered, these are not the best of times to be a chicken. First the searing heat over much of the nation this summer killed nearly 10 million birds, or about 1% of the 1.25 billion commercial chickens alive and scratching in the U.S. at any one time. Drought drove up grain prices, making the fowl more expensive to feed and buy. Now comes still another peril: so-called exotic Newcastle disease, a viral disorder that attacks chickens as well as a wide variety of other birds.

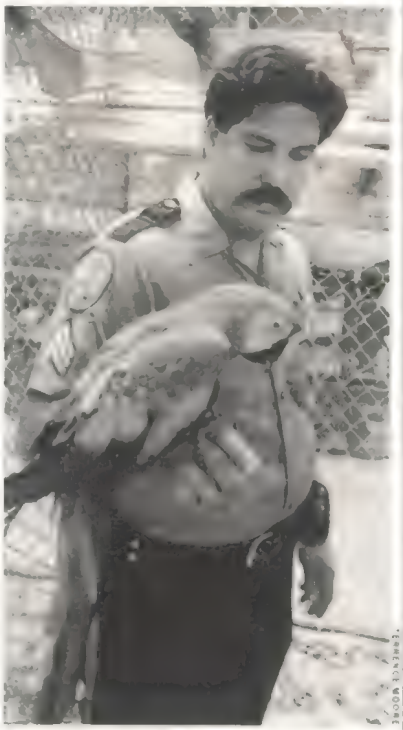
The symptoms: gasping and coughing, often followed by nervous disorders. Upon taking a drink of water, affected birds walk backward. Their wings droop, their legs drag, and they may become totally paralyzed within a few days. Poultrymen have developed vaccines against the more common forms of Newcastle, which was first recognized at Newcastle upon Tyne, England, in 1926. Since then a more virulent strain has emerged. It was carried, Government officials suspect, by the rare tropical birds that are smuggled into the U.S., often by illicit drug dealers, and sold to eager buyers at fancy prices: up to $1,300 for a Moluccan cockatoo, or $8,000 for a hyacinthine macaw.

When an epidemic of exotic Newcastle disease struck California in the early '70s, 12 million egg-laying hens died, or were destroyed to prevent the spread of the disease. This time rare birds are being killed by the thousands in an attempt to protect the $9 billion poultry industry. Agriculture Department task forces have destroyed some 30,000 pet birds, from Maine to Hawaii, mostly by gassing them in plastic bags with carbon dioxide.

The strategy is not appreciated by anyone who has spent a small fortune for a rare bird, even though the Government reimburses owners and dealers at fair market values. But Agriculture and poultry-industry officials see no alternative. This year's attack seemed more threatening than any earlier outbreak: exposed birds were tracked from Miami to 45 states, Canada, the Bahamas and The Netherlands Antilles.

So far, the program has worked: the virus apparently has not spread to the great chicken factories of the Southeast and of the Delmarva Peninsula, which ships birds overnight by truck to New York City and other Eastern markets. But poultrymen are not resting easy. Says Frank Perdue, chairman of Perdue Farms Inc.: "All you can do is what you can." One step: voluntary quarantines for farmers whose families have visited pet shops.

Meanwhile another disease, canine parvovirus, an unusually contagious and sometimes fatal ailment affecting dogs, has become a major concern of veterinarians and pet owners. While no overall figures are available, more than 2,000 deaths have been tabulated in Britain; and in the Minneapolis–St. Paul area alone, an estimated 1,500 dogs have died from the disease in the past three months.



Inspecting a macaw for infection in Florida

Their wings droop, their legs drag.

Possibly a mutant strain of a mink virus or the cat virus feline panleukopenia, parvovirus is spread through the feces of infected canines. The virus can remain infectious for months, and can be tracked long distances on the soles of shoes or by other means. The disease does not affect humans, but sniffing dogs can pick up the virus by ingesting less than one-thousandth of a gram of fecal material. Five to ten days after exposure, the dogs may become listless, then vomit and develop bloody diarrhea; they also lose their appetite. If the animal becomes dehydrated, it may die unless treated.

Veterinarians at Cornell University's Baker Institute for Animal Health are working on a parvovirus vaccine that will offer long-lasting protection, but it is still experimental. For now, many dog owners are making do with vaccines using feline panleukopenia virus. The vaccinations offer effective protection against the dog virus, but they must be renewed at least every six months or so, possibly more often. ■

Samplings

NOSY CAMELS

Its cussedness is legendary. It will kick its master when it is annoyed, and spit cud at curious bystanders. Despite its vile temper, the camel is prized for its ability to withstand searing desert temperatures with a bagful of survival tricks. Among them are its unusual abilities to retain water in the bloodstream (with the help of high concentrations of a special kind of albumin), sweat so little that its skin almost always feels dry, and keep out heat with a coat of thick fur.

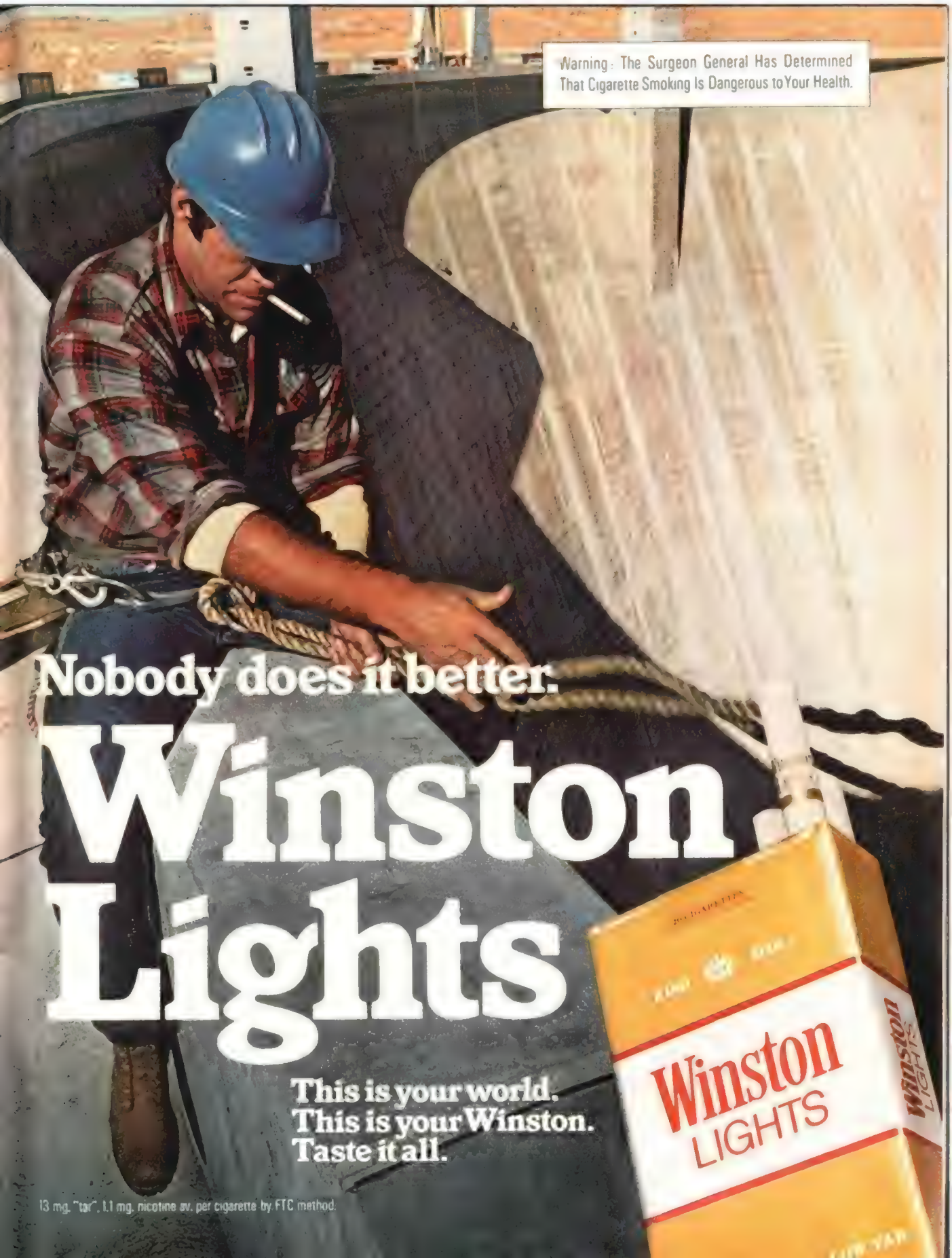
Now Physiologist Knut Schmidt-Nielsen of Duke University and Israeli Zoologist Amiram Shkolnik have explained another dromedary ploy: its ability to exhale far less water than even other desert animals. For 16 days the scientists kept two camels standing in peak temperatures of 40° C (104° F) without water at an Israeli kibbutz near the Dead Sea. After about ten days the camels' nightly exhalations became dryer, showing that they were saving water. But how?

Examining camel remains recovered from local abattoirs, the scientists found the answer. Camel noses are filled with many tiny winding passageways, moistened with glandular secretions. As the camel loses water, the secretions dry and form an absorbent crust. This crust soaks up moisture coming from the lungs. During inhalation, the stored moisture is carried back into the lungs. In short, the camel saves water not in its hump but in the folds of its prodigious shnoz, which cover an area of roughly 1,100 sq. cm, *vs.* only 12 sq. cm for the average human.

NERVOUS REINDEER

Come Christmas, Santa had better not overwork his reindeer or he may end up financing some fancy surgery for them. According to Dr. Claes Rehbinder of the Swedish Veterinary College at Uppsala, reindeer suffer from stress and are prone to ulcers. Studying animals slaughtered during a roundup in the Lapp village of Mittådalen and elsewhere in northern Sweden, Rehbinder found that an astonishing four-fifths of them had ulcers.

Veterinarians blame the stomach bleeding on nervous exhaustion brought on by modern technology. Once the Lapps herded the animals by skiing alongside them and crooning soothing songs. Now they use helicopters, snowmobiles and motorcycles, and the animals become spooked by noise. Though no one has yet suggested that the Lapps be made to return to skis, there is concern that machine-caused stress may affect the quality of reindeer meat, which retails for $5.68 per lb. With costlier herding techniques, prices would be even higher. That could increase stress, at least among those who buy the delicacy. ■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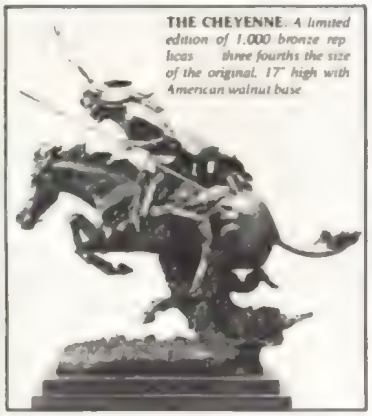

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Ballantine's Star Fruit Sapote Sapote

Two marionettes: Atzorn and Buchegger

The director's spokesman: Schmidinger

Cinema

Deadly Dance

FROM THE LIFE OF
THE MARIONETTES
Directed and Written by
Ingmar Bergman

In the prologue, Peter (Robert Atzorn), a man of respectable dress, manner and background, murders a prostitute. In the epilogue he is seen in his asylum cell, having completed his descent from inexplicable behavior to full-scale madness. Between these two sequences, Peter, his wife Katarina (Christine Buchegger) and various friends and relatives speculate on what must have motivated him to murder a stranger. They reach few firm conclusions.

In fact, these people with their sometimes boring, occasionally self-serving ruminations and reminiscences are not characters in the conventional sense. They are instruments through which Ingmar Bergman, employing the device of an "investigator," who is mostly an off-screen voice, contemplates an enigma much larger than the causes of a sordid crime. What he is meditating upon is nothing less than the fundamental unknowability of the human soul.

Peter's mother shows in her testimony and behavior that as a child he was deprived of self-reliance by her smothering attentions. His wife's evidence—supported by his own dreams and memories—reveals that what seemed a marriage of near exemplary closeness was actually a case of almost childlike mutual dependency. A psychiatrist insists that men kill because it is only through murder that one can totally possess another. He warns that Peter must now be regarded as a potential suicide because, having murdered his wife's surrogate in an enactment of possessive passion, he must now kill himself in order finally to possess himself as well.

Ingmar Bergman is nothing if not thorough when he sets about one of his psychological work-ups, and his title here hints at deeper conclusions than most of his characters reach on the subject that they ponder. If they are "marionettes," then it follows that they are controlled by invisible strings, by forces that the individual himself cannot perceive and that must elude even wise analysis. If this is so, then the whole effort to possess someone else, even in the radical way that Peter used, is absurd, as is the effort to understand it in conventional moral and emotional terms.

Bergman makes himself very clear on this point in two monologues delivered by Tim, a man who appears, at first, to be a peripheral character. He is Katarina's homosexual business partner, who introduced the murderer to his victim, and who, in examining his motive for so doing, discovers that the strings that moved him are far too tangled for rational explanation. In these arias an actor named Walter Schmidinger does protean work. The rest of the cast is excellent too, but because Tim is the only one who fully grasps Bergman's philosophical idea, he is the only one who can express a full range of free, unpuzzled emotions. His wisdom, compassion and anguish briefly quicken and warm a bleak film that is more interesting to analyze than to attend; for the fact is that Bergman has set himself a most formidable artistic task in this film. Marionettes, obviously, are less than human—the dead playthings, in Bergman's scheme of things, of a dead God. The great director's mood as he contemplates their dance is both clinical and wintry. If he has failed, in the end, to jerk his dolls into a fully convincing imitation of life, one cannot help responding to the bracing demands of the severe intelligence manipulating them. —*By Richard Schickel*

Theater

Happy Hangover

FIFTH OF JULY *by Lanford Wilson*

Lanford Wilson possesses something that any pol might envy. He controls the wacko constituency—weirdos, crazies and freaks. *Fifth of July* is a redo of his *The Hot l Baltimore*, transported to a creaky ancestral house in Lebanon, Mo. Aunt Sally (Mary Carver), wooed and won in Wilson's romantic drama, *Talley's Folly*, has come back 30-odd years later to scatter her late husband's ashes. On hand are some of the walking wounded of the intoxicant wars of the '60s.

Sally's nephew Ken (Christopher Reeve), who now owns the Talley place, is perched on crutches, having lost both legs in Viet Nam. Through the marvel of commercial casting, cinema's Superman has become a homosexual cripple. Reeve gives his role the old college try—fervent amateurism. Ken's lover is Jed (Jeff Daniels), a horticulture nut. Ken's sister June (Joyce Reehling) has sedated her radicalism with bread baking, and her 13-year-old daughter (Amy Wright) is stoned on sexual voyeurism.

Apt credentials for the loony bin are also flashed by John and Gwen Landis (Jonathan Hogan and Swoosie Kurtz), who want to buy the Talley place. Gwen is a vivacious twit who used to bomb her father's banks and now blitzes audiences with her pop singing. Kurtz delivers her lines with a sly acidic malice that heralds the second coming of Eve Arden.

There are plenty of funny moments in this happy hangover of a play, but in groping for satire, Wilson achieves parody. Satire demands moral passion; *Fifth of July* has no fire on its breath, only a tart tongue in its cheek. —*By T.E. Kalem*

Reeve and Kurtz in *Fifth of July*

Apt credentials for the loony bin.

A *Grove* of Treasures

From Palestrina to Presley, in 20 volumes

Poets, philosophers and churchmen have fretted for centuries about the demonic and divine natures of music. The results have been gloriously inconclusive. But in the past hundred years scholars have plodded to an unassailable truth: whether it overheats the blood or soothes the savage breast, music is one of history's great growth industries. Technology has electrified the ether: since Edison and Marconi, listeners have increased a billionfold. There is scarcely an Aleut or Patagonian today who cannot flick on a transistor against the shriek of icy winds.

COURTESY OF ROYAL COLLEGE OF MUSIC

Caricature of Sir George Grove (1891)

He built lighthouses and railways.

One result is that people talk and read more about music than ever before. For the most compulsive of these, the publication this month of the 20-volume sixth edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Macmillan Publisher's Ltd.) is a great event. Since 1890 *Grove* has been the last word on music, at least in the Anglo-Saxon world. The initial edition was titled *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians by Eminent Writers, English and Foreign*. The word "foreign" was a bit patronizing; of the 118 contributors listed in that four-volume edition, 102 were British. This reflected the insular judgment of the founding editor, a non-musician named George Grove, one of those versatile achievers of whom the Victorian Age was justly proud. Sir George, a civil engineer, built lighthouses in Jamaica and Bermuda and worked on the British railway system. He was a self-taught Bible and music scholar who in 1852 became secretary of the Crystal Palace, a concert and exhibition hall. He wrote program notes and served as a founder and director of the Royal College of Music.

Grove's musical idols were Beethoven, Schumann, Schubert and Mendelssohn. But his dictionary mirrored his national biases. Early editions contained the names of English composers and musicians of negligible influence. Though subsequent updatings sought to broaden the work's scope, a major revision was not attempted until the nine-volume fifth edition of *Grove's* in 1954. However, *Grove's* was still dominated by the tastes of a single editor, on that occasion, the late English critic Eric Blom.

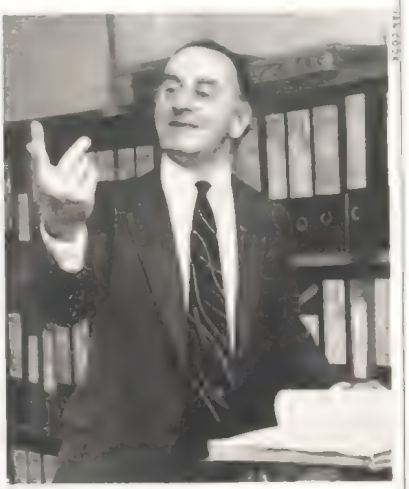
Grove's new chief is Stanley Sadie, 50, a specialist in 18th century music, author of books on Mozart and Handel, editor of *Musical Times* and critic for the *Times* of London. Sadie appears to have a firm grip on two vital facts: that culturally as well as commercially this is an age of internationalism, and that the rapid growth of music can no longer be interpreted by one person. *Grove* 6 acknowledges this with a systems approach that employs computers, a team of advisers and editors and an army of 2,300 contributors (20% of them British; 35% American). It is not a revision but a new construction job, as if an old walled city had been leveled and a cosmopolitan capital built in its place. Compared with the 1954 model the *New Grove* is 97% new; its size has more than doubled (to 20 volumes with 15,000 pages); and cost of a set has soared from $127.50 to $1,900.

Grove 6 offers not only updated biographies and bibliographies but greatly expanded coverage on forms, theory, cities and their musical traditions, instruments, musical sociology and institutions. A generation of scholarship has enhanced the reputations of such composers as Monteverdi, Palestrina, Lassus, Josquin, Vivaldi, Cimarosa and Donizetti. Entries on such late 19th century romantics as Bruckner and Mahler have been greatly expanded; the 20th century giant Stravinsky gets 30 columns of biography and discussion *vs.* nine in *Grove 5*.

Jazz and non-Western music receive greater attention. No more condescending talk of "primitive" music; now there are a million words on the "ethnomusicology" of Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific. Pop is sometimes treated in solemn detail. On the Beatles: "Early style is typified by *She Loves You* (1963), with its duple metre, almost hypnotic beat, pentatonic melody, 32-bar song form and tonic-mediant tonal relationship; its text concerns adolescent love, and has a quasi ritualistic 'yeah, yeah, yeah' refrain."

The entry on Elvis Presley concentrates on the singer's virtuosity ("His voice covered two and a third octaves from G to B with an upward extension to D in falsetto"). The King's drug-taking is not mentioned. Yet for the first time in *Grove*, stars of the past are handled bluntly. The deaths of Schubert and Schumann are attributed unequivocally to syphilis; Tchaikovsky's homosexuality and suicide are clearly acknowledged.

Sadie can be rough on his predecessors at *Grove 5*: "The articles on Rachmaninoff and Richard Strauss were not worthy of the subjects ... Organist and Composer William Wolstenholme left no impact on the history of music and he shouldn't have been in at all." The new edition is tougher and less sentimental. Sadie's own



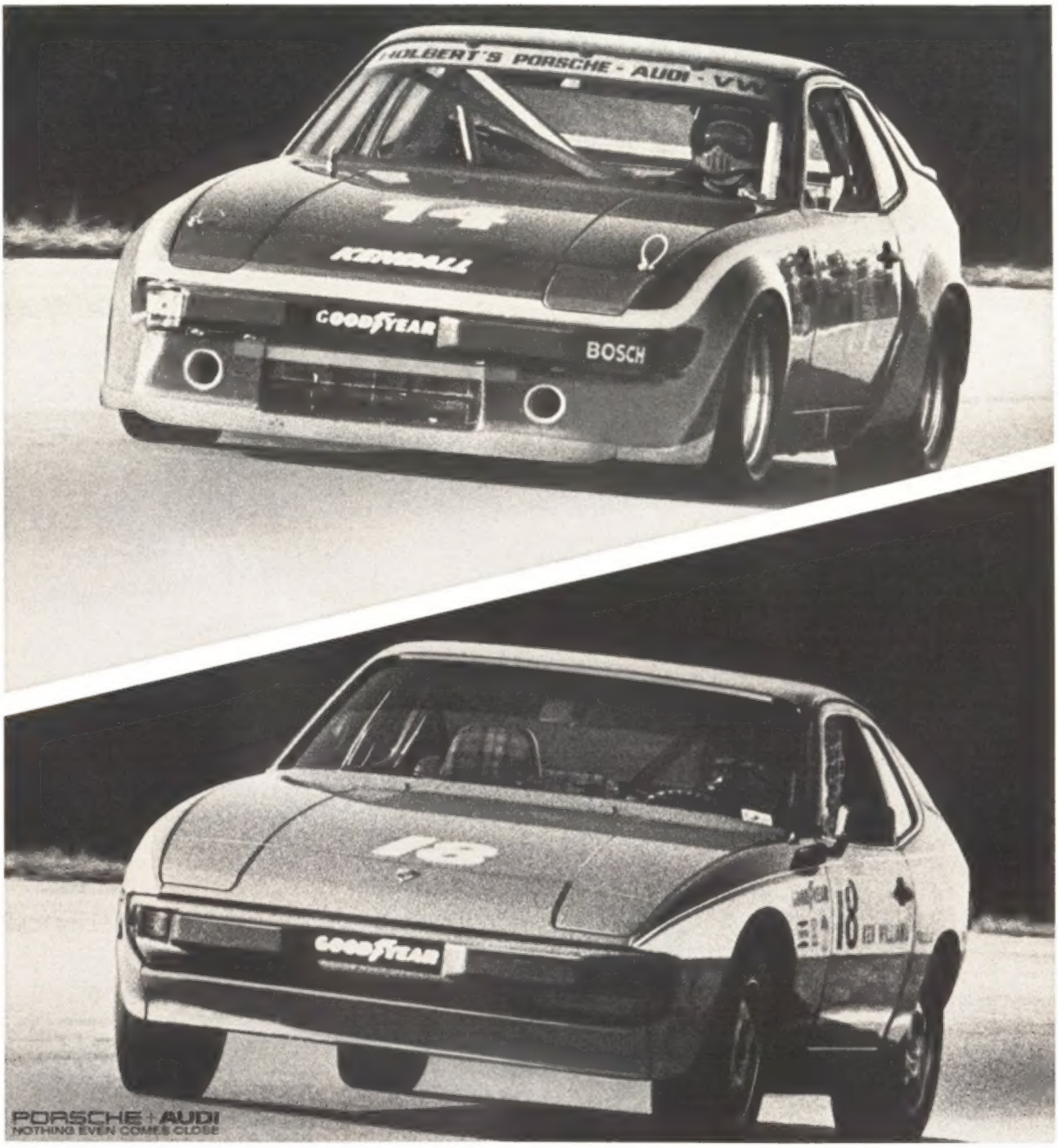
Editor Stanley Sadie

He marshaled an international army.

piece on Mozart, the longest single biography (89 columns) in the dictionary, is a good example. Says Sadie: "Mozart was not just a victim of infirmities and circumstances. He alienated potential patrons and that's partly why he died poor at the age of 35."

Procuring, editing and checking 18 million words and 3,000 illustrations caused staggering problems. Publication deadlines were delayed at least two years; some contributors were five years late. Computers too were obstreperous. At one point, recalls Sadie, all articles beginning with U, X, J and C were deleted; K was lost for a while; and "Haydn made our computer have a seizure."

The strengths and weaknesses of huge reference works like the *New Grove* will take years to judge. But Macmillan is already planning *Grove* 7. Though it may be too early to shout encore! it is reassuring to know that Sadie and his band will play on. ***—By R.Z. Sheppard. Reported by Eric Amfitheatrof/London and Nancy Newman/New York***



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